The Dissertation Committee for Diana Ruth Norton Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Writing Foreign Stardom under Autarchy: Affect, Nationalism and the Americas in Early Franquista Spanish Culture

Committee:

Jason Borge, Supervisor

Jill Robbins, Co-Supervisor

Jorge Pérez

Michael Harney

Charles Ramirez Berg

Writing Foreign Stardom under Autarchy: Affect, Nationalism and the Americas in Early Franquista Spanish Culture

by

Diana Ruth Norton

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2018

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the women throughout my life who taught me to defy convention, whether they intended to or not. To Karen Kinney Norton, Diana Kinney, Katie Kinney, Teri Caswell, Jerri Kinney, Ruth Kinney, Ruth Norton, Nelly Graves, Barbara Norton, Susie Norton, Melinda Morgan Norton and Kim Setty.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Truman Library, the Graduate School of the University of Texas and the Fulbright Program for the financial support that made this dissertation possible. I would like to extend a special thanks to all the archivists at the Truman Library, Hemeroteca Municipal, Filmoteca Nacional, Biblioteca Nacional, and the Archivo General de la Administración, for pointing me in the right direction and answering any queries I had regarding their holdings.

To Jill Robbins, Jason Borge, Jorge Pérez for all of your insights on drafts and support of this profoundly strange dissertation project. To Ángel Loureiro for giving me the best undergraduate thesis idea and the basis for every bit of scholarship I've done over the last ten years. To Anjouli Janzen and Jon Snyder for letting me explore similar themes in my master's thesis. To Mary Beltrán and Charles Ramirez Berg for providing excellent comments on this project from a film and celebrity studies perspective. To Lorenzo Delgado for guiding my research in Madrid, and Pablo León Aguinaga for providing a historian's perspective on US-Spanish relations under the Franco regime. To María Rosón for her amazing work on private photographs and for pointing me towards archives I did not even know I needed. To Susana, Rosa, Raquel, Beatriz, José Ramón for commenting on various chapters/presentations and for suggesting essential primary sources.

Thanks to Mom and Dad, to Jackie Serigos and Tia Butler, my writing partners, and to Daniel, mi amor.

Writing Foreign Stardom under Autarchy: Affect, Nationalism and the Americas in Early Franquista Spanish Culture

Diana Ruth Norton, PhD

The University of Texas at Austin, 2018

Supervisors: Jason Borge and Jill Robbins

This dissertation questions the assumption that foreign films solely provided modes of escapism or opportunities to subvert societal norms under the early Franco regime. In essence, I show how complex political operations underlay the reception and marketing in Spain of foreign films and transnational star images. Using archival research, I examine the way that the Spanish press wrote about Hollywood and Latin American film actresses between 1945 and 1953, taking as case studies the star discourses of Joan Crawford, Dolores del Río, María Félix, Rita Hayworth, Carmen Miranda and Ava Gardner in Spain. In effect, the symbols of Spanish nationalism fostered by the Franco regime—including an imperialist notion of Hispanism—came to circulate in writings about these women, affectively associating the bodies of foreign actresses with the propaganda of the Franco regime. Drawing on the concept of 'sticky associations' developed by Sara Ahmed, I argue that these Francoist symbols came to adhere to the representations of American stars in state-controlled discourse, subtly reflecting the regime's growing alignment with the US over the period in question. In this way, they allowed for the idea of the West as advanced by US postwar cultural imperialism to gain traction in Spain, despite the oft-cited critique of American morality. My project builds on important work in Spanish Cultural Studies, using affect theory to unite film, celebrity, transnational, and gender studies with history and international relations.

Table of Contents

Introduction

This dissertation—titled *Writing Foreign Stardom under Autarchy: Affect, Nationalism and the Americas in Early-Franquista Spanish Film Culture*—emphasizes the written text as the locus of transnational celebrity image formation and maintenance under the Franco regime. However, it will also analyze visual texts such as film, and photography, as well as non-written texts, such as rumors, gossip and oral history, to illustrate how the discourse of Spanish nationalism propagated by the Franco regime drove Spain's cultural relationship with both Latin America and the United States during Spain's autarkic period of the 1940s and early 1950s. By specifically targeting an era of international isolation for Spain, this project explores how nationalist discourse influences understandings of foreign popular culture. One aspect of this research focuses on how the Franco government used and/or controlled nationalistic discourse in censored versions of American films and in popular media representations of both US and Latin American actresses of the 1940s; however, it also traces how symbols of the particular brand of Spanish nationalism promoted by the regime—termed *Hispanidad*—tracked across transnational star discourses, invoking different meanings and manipulating star images in different ways with each usage.

This study takes a cultural studies approach to questions of film and transnational stardom in Franco Spain, analyzing the texts that comprised the star discourses of foreign actresses in Spain and questioning the representations of womanhood and national identity that appear therein. Specifically, it analyzes how Joan Crawford, Dolores del Río, María Félix, Rita Hayworth, Carmen Miranda and Ava Gardner were represented in the Spanish press between 1945 and 1953 and how their celebrity images were alternately manipulated, censored or otherwise 'nationalised' (to use a term proposed by Paul Rixon) under the

Franco regime. One reason that I chose to analyze these female celebrities is because of how strongly articulated their star discourse is both in the Americas and in Spain. These women were and continue to be icons of both Anglo and Hispanic celebrity, and the majority could be properly termed transnational stars at the height of their careers. I train my gaze on them now to see what their star discourses within Spain can tell us about transnational celebrity under the Franco regime.

In this introduction, I will first give a brief historical overview of living conditions in Spain under Franco before addressing the historical and academic trajectories of *Hispanidad* and Spanish national identity. My approach to analyzing the symbols of *Hispanidad* as they appear in star discourses draws on insights from affect theorist Sara Ahmed, which allow me to address the relationship between affect and national identity. Next, I will link affect and national identity to female stardom. Finally, I will posit that transnational female stardom created a "felt communal knowing" of foreign actresses as "real people" based around the symbols, values and ideals of *Hispanidad*. This "felt communal knowing" belies certain stars' function as signs of foreign nationalisms and reveals the impossible promises made by foreign stardom.

SPAIN UNDER FRANCO

Any study of the Franco regime's policies cannot fail to mention its oppression of the Spanish public, especially of those who supported the Republican side. The excessive violence of a militarized state, coupled with hardships imposed by economic autarky, worked to weaken resistance to the regime. These pressures also came to bear on the press; censorship imposed the regime's hegemonic understanding of Spanish identity on the country, as "[j]ournalists were, in effect, state functionaries charged with maintaining the regime's monopoly of ideas" (Richards "Time" 10). Although Spaniards became adept at

subversive survival strategies—often reading between the lines to form their own interpretations—ultimately censorship worked to structure specific ways of reading the news. In terms of the arrival of certain American films and the prospect of US military and economic aid, censorship ensured that Hollywood and Latin American stars (and the United States and Latin America) would be read as an extension of the Franco regime—as another facet of *Hispanidad*—and not as a foreign presence who might liberate the country from its oppressive dictator.

Censorship, especially, altered the information that circulated about foreign actresses and manipulated how they were represented and received in Spain. For this reason, I aim to decipher how Spanish censors altered the representations of female characters (perhaps by desexualizing them or by eliminating references to scandalous actions and behaviors) in imported Hollywood and Latin American films. On the other hand, such changes distorted the construction of the star discourse of these women in Spain, even as they failed to reduce the stars' popularity. The allure of US and Latin American film stars fits the framework of the regime's propaganda thanks to censorship, thus subtly reinforcing the regime even in a tiny gesture of protest. Even if a star's transnational image in Spain was at least partially manufactured by the Spanish press itself (as we will see), the manipulations could not hide the very real affection for Americans that existed in Spain under Franco: for Latin American actors and actresses under the larger umbrella of *Hispanidad*, and for the security, support, wealth and power represented by the United States in the post-World War II environment.[1] The attachments expressed towards Americans manifested themselves in the deep popularity of American (especially

[1] It is possible that Spanish audiences also dreamed of the freedoms portrayed by Hollywood films; however, as Jo Labanyi has noted, they also recognized that the gap between their own lives and the images, plots and possibilities shown onscreen was so large as to relegate film purely to the fantasy world (Labanyi, "Cinema and the Mediation of Everyday Life in 1940s and 1950s Spain" 8-9).

Hollywood and Mexican) cinema in Franco's Spain, as well as in the emulation of the Hollywood cinema fashions by a portion of the more rebellious members of this generation of Spanish women—*las chicas topolino*.

Las chicas topolino were middle class women who can best be described as mildly disobedient. If the ideal of Spanish womanhood under the Franco regime was represented by the "true catholic woman" and the *ángel del hogar* (following the preferred ideological, and stylistic, example set by the *Sección Femenina* and *Auxilio Social*), then *las chicas topolino* defied their parents and the regime by emulating Hollywood fashions. Their very existence calls attention to the complexities of the gender discourse of the Franco regime. Pilar Primo de Rivera, leader of the Sección Femenina—the women's branch of the Falangist party, of which the Auxilio Social formed a part—established the feminine ideal of Franquista ideology: a chaste, hardworking maiden whose only goal in life was marriage, housework and children. The *Sección Femenina* inculcated this ideal through various charitable activities—feeding and clothing orphans, caring for the sick, distributing ration cards—but always ironically with the idea that women's work should be relegated to the domestic sphere. Even those women who did manage to work in the public sphere under the Franco regime—such as actresses in the nascent Spanish film industry—publicly professed their desires to stay at home and raise children. The star image of Aurora Bautista—the highest paid actress in Spanish film at the end of the 1940s—was so successful in representing her as a homebody that a dissertation written in 2001 continued to describe her as a "mujer sencilla y hogareña" (Rodríguez Fuentes 474).

Perhaps foreign stars were deeply popular in Spain under Franco because, at this same moment in time, the Spanish film industry struggled to manufacture its own star system. It only began to develop the seeds of one in the late 1940s, thanks to figures like Aurora Bautista, Fernando Fernán Gómez, Fernando Rey, Jorge Mistral, Jesús Tordesillas

and Carmen Sevilla. This is due partly to the structural deficiencies of the Spanish state under autarky. Francesco Alberoni theorizes that the basic conditions for stardom are a state of law, an efficient bureaucracy, a structured social system, a large-scale society, economic development above subsistence (thought it doesn't have to be too far above subsistence) and social mobility (Alberoni 108-109). In the first decade of the Franco regime—precisely the era when members of the Spanish film-making elite, such as Cesáreo González, head of Suevia Films, were decrying the country's dearth of stars—Spain lacked many of the conditions that would have made the creation of an internal star system possible. There was a state of law and a structured social system, but the bureaucracy was inefficient, and the large-scale society was deeply divided. There are no clear statistics to indicate exactly how many people died, were imprisoned or exiled under the Franco regime, though Paul Preston claims that at least 600,000 people died during the war or as a part of the reprisals against the civilian population of the Republican zones in the war's immediate aftermath (1). In addition, around 500,000 people were exiled from the country, and more died in work battalions, prisons and concentration camps (in Spain, and in France during the Second World War) (Preston 1). The vast majority of the people lived in subsistence conditions (let's not forget that the 1940s are commonly referred to in Spain as *los años de hambre*, for the sheer amount of starvation that people suffered). Finally, the social system was so structured that social mobility was a pipe dream. The only stars for Spaniards who could claim such a name to fame were foreign ones, and their lives were so distant as to be almost unrecognizable. González and Suevia Films actually began importing stars—such as María Félix and Jorge Negrete—from foreign countries in order to capitalize off of their stardom and convince Spanish audiences to attend Spanish movies.

In fact, Spanish films were notoriously under-attended by the Spanish movie-going public under the Franco regime, in spite of the popularity of cinema as an avenue for escape

(see Pablo León Aguinaga 2009, Carmen Rodríguez Fuentes 2001, Román Gubern 2009, among others). Perhaps precisely because cinema provided an avenue of escape wherein Spaniards could fantasize about other lands and alternate lives, Spaniards avoided movies that carried the regime's seal of approval and propaganda. In addition, production values of Spanish cinema were often notoriously, often risibly substandard. Yet, censorship meant that all films screened in Spain carried changes that reminded viewers of the regime's reach (including dubbing and oftentimes blatant edits). Foreign films that undermined the regime, such as the film adaptation of *The Sun Also Rises*, starring Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman were banned, and others that spoke poorly of the Spanish Civil War were often altered, as in the case of *The Barefoot Contessa*. Nonetheless, foreign films did not nearly betray the regime's heavy hand in propaganda nearly as heavily as those written and shot in Spain. The difference lay in the fact that a film shot in Spain had to receive regime approval beginning with the script and culminating in the final product, whereas censors could only edit, cut and rewrite dialogue for scenes of foreign films. In this way, foreign movies censored or even created under the Franco regime often incorporated what I will label "Hispanic objects" as a way to ensure their appeal under the discourse of Spanish national identity promoted by the regime and founded in a specific understanding of the discourse of *Hispanidad*.

HISPANIDAD

Studying *Hispanidad* is a messy business, as its diffuseness makes it difficult to parse. The simplest way to understand *Hispanidad*—the putative essence of Spanish national character—comes from Jean Grugel and Tim Rees, however, the discourse is far more complex than this simplified definition reveals, especially as it has changed over the course of the twentieth century. In addition, the uneven ways in which it intersects with the

discourse of Spanish national identity over the course of time complicate our understandings of both. *Hispanidad* under Franco was a purposefully ambiguous discourse aimed at creating a "Hispanic cultural consciousness" so vast as to be devoid of meaning; however, its rhetorical vacuity does not indicate that it meant nothing, per se. Rather, the complete and total penetration of Hispanic signs and symbols within Spanish society incorporated certain foreigners into the Spanish imaginary in ways that affectively aligned people, ideas and countries with the Franco regime.

Methodologically, I have chosen to try to navigate what scholars such as Xavier Rubert deVentós (1991), Lorenzo Delgado Gomez-Escalonilla (1993), and Gerald Brenan (1960) have labeled the 'labyrinth' of *Hispanidad* by tracking certain signs that appear time and again as signifiers of Hispanic-ness (and Spanish national identity) in the press under the Franco regime.[2] The imperial nostalgia invoked by the Franco regime "no se planteaba pues en el terreno del retorno al dominio material, sino en clave de recuperación de unas hipotéticas señas de identidad comunes expresadas mediante la apelación a la *Hispanidad*" (Delgado Gomez-Escalonilla 99). This emphasis on recuperation is key, given that the discourse of *Hispanidad* as it appeared in the twentieth-century originated from the crisis of empire that resulted from the loss of Spain's imperial territories in the Caribbean and the Philippines in the War of 1898.

Hispanidad, in its propagandistic usage, created a language of signs based around symbols and imagery of not only the Spanish empire (and its former imperial possessions, including contemporaneous Spanish American republics such as Mexico), but also kitschy

[2] By invoking the ancient symbol of the labyrinth, these scholars endow the discourse of *Hispanidad* with more mystery, weight and meaning than any one word can contain. The discourse of *Hispanidad* is labyrinthine only in that humans have imposed such a wide variety of meanings onto it that calling it forth requires a specific detailing of what aspects of *Hispanidad* one refers to. If anything, *Hispanidad* (and Spanishness in general) is not a labyrinth, but rather a stereotypically vacuous nationalistic discourse, prone to the usual slippages that we find in language.

folklore, applied in broad strokes to the whole world. This language of signs—what Delgado Gomez-Escalonilla labels *señas de identidad*—is what I aim to track across transnational star discourses. It is in these "signs of identity"—in the ability to call forth specific symbols of Hispanic-ness—that the Franco regime found its ideological foundation. At the same time, the ways that these signs were deployed across locations, bodies and time, to visually and textually indicate Hispanic and non-Hispanic bodies, gave the regime its ideological flexibility. I have chosen the following symbols as the ones to track in order to better understand the fixity-flexibility of *Hispanidad* under the Franco regime: the Spanish language, the geographic space of the Peninsula and former Empire; race, ethnicity and phenotype; idealized gendered representations of domesticity and motherhood; and folklore and traditional costume.

The signs of identity labeled above are moderately different from the "ingredients of [the] nationalist ideological brew" that Michael Richards encounters in the *Hispanidad* of early Franquista ideology. Richards designates the following signs of identity:

> the eulogizing of the Spanish peasantry as the embodiment of national virtues, the maintenance of private property, a revaluation of violence as 'creative' and 'purifying' […]; militarism and martial values; and the ideal of a national unity and a spiritual and material resurgence based upon the developments of myths of empire, Reconquest, and Counter-Reformation. (Constructing the Nationalist State 151)

By highlighting marginally distinct symbols of *Hispanidad*, I aim to show how the regime shifted its stance as it began to engage with the outside world. Even as *Hispanidad* worked within Spain to promote imperial nostalgia, the Franco regime utilized it internationally to position itself and its connections with Catholicism as a "third way" between Anglo-American capitalism and Russian Communism (Grugel and Rees 166). This "third way" propagandistically exalted self-sufficiency, sharing, obedience, and asceticism, even as the

material realities of the Franco regime ensured profit for those who had supported the regime, protections for private property and institutionalized hierarchy.

Thus, *Hispanidad* under Francoism comprised both internal and external propaganda, and the symbols it evoked differed for each. Violence and militarism appeared less overtly after 1945, especially as pertaining to foreign propaganda that tried to rehabilitate the image of the regime in its relations with Western democracies. When the regime did emphasize violence, it tended to displace it onto a nostalgic and glorified past of the Crusades, the Reconquest or the discovery of the Americas, and thus reaffirm Spain's positioning within Western culture, history and conquest. After World War II and the adoption of UN General Assembly Resolution 39 (which banned Spain from participating in the international organization and recommended that all members of the UN remove their diplomatic representatives from Spain), the regime consolidated and shifted its tactics. In this way, "eulogizing the Spanish peasantry" shifted towards essentializing characteristics of race, ethnicity or phenotype proper to the Peninsula, and elevating folklore and traditional costume. In addition, these narratives allowed for symbols such as the Spanish language, the geographic space of the former empire, and idealized gendered representations to emerge.

Given the foundations of *Hispanidad* in the myths of Empire and given just how much has been written about *Hispanidad* both academically and popularly, it behooves us to examine into its historical narrative, so as to better understand how the use of certain cultural symbols (and the affective attachments they generate) can bolster a particular national identity. For instance, the discourse of *Hispanidad* did not exist as such under the reign of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabel; however, their marriage marks the beginning of the Empire and of the union of the Peninsula under one nation-state, mythologized during the Enlightenment as the origin of Spanish nationhood and national

identity. In fact, Franco himself preferred cite the Catholic Kings as the example of a homegrown "totalitarian" regime that he was imitating, rather than the foreign regimes of Hitler or Mussolini (Payne 175-176). In doing so, Franco himself was participating in reinforcing a certain myth of the Spanish Empire and the Iberian Peninsula as fully united over the course of history, rather than recognizing the ways in which the empire's power and unity ebbed and flowed over time.

In its attempt to culturally reconstruct the Spanish Empire as the legacy of *Hispanidad*, the regime rhetorically folded the former Spanish colonies of Latin America and Africa (along with Equatorial Guinea and the Western Sahara) into a notion of greater Spain. This cultural emphasis is what historian Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla calls an *imperio de papel*, or the attempt to craft a foreign policy based primarily on intellectual, linguistic and cultural ties. Delgado argues that Francoist propaganda in Latin America fought against lukewarm reception across most of the continent, given the sheer quantity of exiled Spanish Republicans opposed to the regime and living in Latin America (though the opposition of Republican exiles was especially strong in Mexico, ally of the Second Republic during the Spanish Civil War and seat of the Republican government in exile) (Delgado Gomez-Escalonilla 92). In addition, the United States' influence in Latin America and its neutrality during the Spanish Civil War tempered any geopolitical influence that the Franco regime might have sought to foster in the area (Delgado Gomez-Escalonilla 92). Even before the Civil War had ended, Francoist sympathizers had begun to cultivate Latin American support for a nostalgic past based on a "cultural-spiritual empire" through various groups: elite Latin American intellectuals, publications in praise of the regime, and university programs that brought Latin American students to Spain (Delgado Gomez-Escalonilla 95). The regime built its foreign policy operations in Latin America around the elitism of Latin American intellectuals, even as nostalgia for imperial

power haunted Spanish intellectuals before and during the Franco regime in their quest to define Spanish national identity (Loureiro 73-74).

In contemporary discussions of *Hispanidad*, academics and theoreticians have continued to parse and reformulate the discourse from various points of view. According to Alberto Moreiras Menor in "Razón Imperial Española," the roots of *Hispanidad* come from the discourse of imperial reason that dominated Spanish thought in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. This discourse justified the expansion of the Spanish Empire under the guise of spreading the light of civilization and promoting Catholicism worldwide. Joan Ramón Resina points to Ganivet's *Idearium español* (1896)—a foundational text in comprehending how the discourse of *Hispanidad* shifted from one of imperial reason to one of imperial recuperation during the twentieth century—to show how the imagined space of the Iberian Peninsula, ancient Hispania, came to be thought of as a utopian totality at the turn of the nineteenth century, by which time the Spanish Empire was all but dismantled.

The fiction of the unified nation-state created by imperial reason and solidified through the loss of empire has been challenged academically from within and without. Resina emphasizes the hegemony with which Castilian thought and philosophy came to govern more marginalized (read: regional) communities within the Peninsula, thus identifying Castilian traits as those most heavily expounded by *Hispanidad*. Though Resina is clear to emphasize the ways in which a Castilocentric viewpoint came to define *Hispanidad* and project a territorial unity within the Peninsula (one which has only rarely existed), he does not elaborate on the ways in which the discourse of *Hispanidad* hailed the Portuguese and Brazilian people as inheritors of this same national character in de Maeztu's *Defensa de la Hispanidad* (1934). In this way, Resina ignores how the discourse of *Hispanidad* has been used historically to incorporate even those "others" who live

outside of the Iberian Peninsula within it. Ángel Loureiro argues that *Hispanidad* is a discourse of national identity based on the ghosts of empire and on the ways in which Spanish intellectuals from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s conceived of the Spanish nation in relation to the former Spanish colonies in Latin America (Loureiro 65). It is all of these and more besides, given that the ideological basis of national identities tends towards a broad umbrella encompassing various opposing viewpoints.

In my research, I take *Hispanidad* to mean the type of Spanish nationalism that the Franco regime promoted in Spain by incorporating elements of both high and low culture supposedly indigenous to the Iberian Peninsula. This discourse harkened back to the Reconquista, the discovery of the Americas, and a conservative, hierarchical Catholicism, even as it referenced popular practices such as bullfighting and regional festivals, with their local dances, traditions and costumes.[3] The discourse of *Hispanidad* as it proliferated under the Franco regime can best be described as a longing for the glories of the Spanish Empire. In the dictatorship's early years, the essence of Spanish national identity focused its nostalgia on the Spanish Empire and on the dream of an ideological community formed of shared linguistic, religious and even ethnic traits. Specifically, it functioned by the repetition of symbols and references to figures and imagery from the Golden Age and the Spanish Empire (and the Catholic Church). The power of *Hispanidad* as a discourse of national identity under Franco was bolstered by its dual nature: ideologically fixed on an imperial(ist) nostalgia, yet flexible in its hegemony. This flexibility derives from the ways in which specific cultural symbols (such as the language, the Church, familial heritage and even popular traditions) were deployed across locations, bodies, and time, such that, for all

[3] For more information on *Hispanidad*, see Juan Pablo Fusi *España: la evolución de la identidad nacional*, Joan Ramón Resina "Hispanism and its Discontents" and "Cold War Hispanism and the New Deal of Cultural Studies", Alberto Moreiras Menor "Spanish nation formation: an introduction" and "Razón imperial española", among others.

the emphasis on purity, *Hispanidad* under Franco actually came to incorporate peoples and countries who had long since ceased to have explicit ties to Spain.

In the following paragraphs, I will expound upon the historico-cultural weight of the symbols that I have chosen to follow around in the star discourses studied. I will begin by analyzing the Spanish language as a symbol of identity under the Franco regime, through its various linguistic practices and policies, as well as through the ways in which the Spanish language was linked to the Spanish imperial project. Discussing the imperial project (even in nostalgia) requires a willingness to dissect the geographic space of the Empire (both the imperial center of the Iberian Peninsula, and its periphery of colonized lands) to understand what meanings could still be claimed by referencing this geography. However, even formerly conquered lands are rarely without people, and the third symbol I will follow around is the concept of whiteness, or rather, how racialized inhabitants of post-imperial spaces are marked as white or not-white in accordance with how they fit into Spanish society. Fourth, understandings of the nation are always-already linked to understandings of gender: citizenship, divisions of labor, virility and population size. Finally, the regime mined nostalgia by appealing to both the high-culture of the Golden Age, as well as popular folkloric customs, such as traditional songs, dances, and costume to reassert an autochthonous identity and override internal divisions. This Introduction will conclude by questioning how symbols can foster and circulate national pride and question what that national pride does when its symbols become attached to foreign bodies.

Language is perhaps *the* defining feature of national identity, and the Franco regime wielded Castilian Spanish as a weapon in its quest to consolidate power. Many scholars (most notably, Joan Ramón Resina) have already noted how the Franco regime imposed the linguistic hegemony of Castilian Spanish over all the other languages and dialects spoken across the country (*gallego*, *vasco*, *catalán*, etc.). However, the Spanish language

is also a symbol of the Hispanicizing project of the empire, and later, of the post-imperial nation-state (Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 6). It's no coincidence that the year 1492 oversaw both the publication of Antonio Nebrija's *Gramática castellana* and the expansion of Spanish sovereignty beyond the Iberian Peninsula. David Rojinsky argues that, though Nebrija never refers to Castile as an "imperio," the rhetoric of the *Gramática castellana* "demonstrated the conviction that language was indispensable for buttressing political power and also for securing internal political hegemony" (Rojinsky 96). Within popular culture under the Franco regime, a person's ability or even desire to speak (even a few words of) Spanish demonstrates their "fellow feeling" toward the country (and thus, support for the regime). One of the reasons that the Franco regime targeted Latin America for some of its earliest diplomatic endeavors is precisely because of the basis of the shared linguistic heritage brought about by four hundred years of imperial Spanish rule. The linguistic hegemony of Castilian Spanish under the Franco regime, however, meant that Latin American accents were still 'othered'; in fact, a review in *Cámara* of *La otra* (discussed further in Chapter 1) complains of the absurdity of dubbing "Mexican" to Castilian Spanish, given that the language is technically the same (Barbero 8).[4]

Even as the regime resuscitated the symbolism, history and reach of the Spanish Empire via the cultural imperialism encompassed by *Hispanidad*, it defended the autochthonous origins of *Hispanidad* on the Iberian Peninsula. As such, the geographic space of the Peninsula looms large in any discussion about *Hispanidad* and Spanish

---

4 "A nosotros nos gustó mucho 'La otra' cuando la vimos el pasado verano en su 'idioma original'; ahora nos ha gustado mucho menos en esta versión 'doblada al español'. Porque, como dijimos, comentando el estreno de esta copia en Barcelona, 'a nosotros nos encantan las buenas películas de la América española precisamente por los graciosos giros y localismos del lenguaje, que dan una inconfundible personalidad a sus producciones. Por eso nos parece absurdo el doblaje al español de una película mejicana. Como nos parecería absurdo el doblaje al 'mejicano'--si admitimos que exista este idioma extranjero--de una película española'."

national identity. Though resuscitating the imagined geographic and cultural space of the former Spanish Empire was important to the Franco regime politically—a fact that we can observe in the regime's diplomatic outreach to Latin America—, it does not carry nearly as much weight in the consolidation of national identity under the Franco regime as the space of the Peninsula itself. British occupation of Gibraltar was a constant thorn in the side of a regime that called for the geographic integrity of the Spanish nation (as the Iberian Peninsula) under its motto: "Una, Grande y Libre." And yet, the poverty of the Spanish nation—thanks to the Civil War, World War II, and international opprobrium and opposition—as well as the rules and regulations imposed by the post-World War II global order meant that the Franco regime could not even entertain the idea of going to war.

In a world wherein the regime could not actually reconquer lands pertaining to the former Spanish Empire, its propaganda machine contented itself with cultural conquest and what Neal Rosendorf terms "soft-power jiu-jitsu" (Rosendorf 6). Rather than wasting resources exploring an unattainable imperial dream beyond the Peninsula, the regime discovered ways to bring foreigners to Spain and seduce them into liking the country (and thus, the regime) through its sun, sangria, wine and tapas.[5] Even the suggestion of an actor or actress's arrival in Spain served to reimagine the space of the Iberian Peninsula and its international importance in the minds of Spaniards, thanks to the most basic participation of the country in the international tourist community. In this way, an actress's physical presence in Spain—visiting famous sights, going to bullfights and being interviewed by Spanish reporters—augmented the authenticity of her star discourse within the country. As Dyer states: "The importance of publicity is that, in its apparent or actual escape from the image that Hollywood is trying to promote, it seems more 'authentic'" (Dyer and

[5] Signs of this still abound in popular tourist joints, such as San Ginés and the Museo Chicote, both of which display pictures of famous visitors, both foreign and domestic, covering their walls.

McDonald 61). Encounters with Spanish reporters (or even chance encounters on city streets) gave Spaniards a seemingly unmediated perspective regarding their favorite Hollywood and Latin American stars. In addition, these stars, with the exception of Joan Crawford and Ava Gardner, were New World "Hispanics," and their manipulation by the Franco regime helped Spaniards see them as modern and metonymical reminders of Spain's imperial reach.[6]

When I say that the space of the Peninsula was reimagined to incorporate certain foreigners, I mean to emphasize that the foreigners in question tended to fall under the broad phenotypic spectrum of 'white.' According to Steve Garner, "White people have particular collective claims on the nation which are and should be prioritized by the state over those of other groups" (Garner 11). Garner goes on to explain that whiteness works to suspend social differences such as sex, age, class, region and nation such that the people labeled white think they have more in common with each other than with anyone else, purely because of what they are not – black, Asian, asylum seeker, etc." (Garner 12). I would add Communist to this list under the Franco regime, especially given the racialization of Communism in texts such as poet José María Pemán's *Poema de la bestia y el ángel*.

Hispanidad is a unique form of whiteness; according to María DeGuzmán, Spanishness (in the US and elsewhere in Europe) comprises a sort of "*off-whiteness*, to be abjected from the ideal body politic" (DeGuzmán xxvii). Perhaps for this reason, the ideal Hispanic body is that of the *morena clara*, a dark-haired, but light-skinned woman (Woods Peiró *White Gypsies* 27). Understanding *Hispanidad* as a marker of off-whiteness helps to explain the common saying, "Africa begins at the Pyrenees." As Catherine Simpson states

[6] Though Carmen Miranda represents *Latinidad*, I include her as a New World Hispanic in this statement because of the ways in which she was read as Hispanic under the Franco regime.

regarding the phrase: "Often used today as a form of historical shorthand signifying the belief that Spain was fundamentally different from the rest of Europe, whether coded negatively (as backward and feudal) or positively (as exotic and timeless), the phrase embodies a collective of beliefs according to which Spain failed to live up to the expectations of a wider European culture" (Catherine Simpson 111). Questions of Spain as (failed) European, as African, and even as American, permeated propaganda under Franco, as the regime pulled on all facets of its imperial history to insert itself into world affairs at the end of autarky. *Hispanidad* is whiteness in that it is the hegemonic discourse of a former colonial power, imposed even on marginalized peoples within the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time, however, the 19th century history of Spain as a failed empire (ultimately at the hands of the US in the Spanish-American War of 1898) and the entire discourse of the Black Legend portray Spain as "othered" with respect to Europe and the US. For this reason, efforts to preserve Spanishness as a certain sort of whiteness bolstered the Franco regime.

As a discourse of brethren, the principles of *Hispanidad* oriented towards men; nonetheless, the concept also demarcated firm ideological mandates for women. *Hispanidad* incorporated a pedagogical discourse that hegemonically defined behaviors appropriate to Spanish female sexuality, with the idea that Spanish women were particularly upstanding in relation to their US and Latin American counterparts. According to Francoist propaganda spread by the *Sección Femenina* of the Falangist Party, Spanish women were instructed to guard their virginity, to selflessly devote their lives to the church or their families, and to forego higher education and any job other than that of wife and mother. Though Spanish women were told to work hard in these tasks, gossip rags also informed them that glamorous Hollywood and Latin American actresses were similarly devoted wives and mothers (eliding the work that they did in their jobs). The personas of

these women as represented in Spain served, in the official culture, to promote the particular brand of Spanish femininity acceptable under the Franco regime—chaste, hard-working, long-suffering and sacrificing—in spite of how these women actually were represented in the press and by their studios. Nonetheless, as Jo Labanyi, Helen Graham, Rosa Medina-Doménech, Eva Woods and others have articulated, Hollywood films also served to inspire Spanish women to develop "tactics of resistance." These tactics illustrate that relations of power are unstable and that subjects perceived to be powerless (such as women) were able to contest and negotiate their place in society, to some extent. In fact, many Spanish women admired actresses like Joan Crawford precisely because the roles she chose subverted the Franco regime's notions of femininity.

The Franco regime's notions of femininity relied on a nostalgic discourse that reinforced traditional (Catholic) gender roles, in addition to mining folkloric customs for added legitimacy. Thus, canonical Spanish cultural icons (Cervantes and the *Quijote*, Velázquez, Goya, Calderón de la Barca, Quevedo, Garcilaso de la Vega, etc…) and monuments hearkened back to Spanish Imperial power and the Golden Age, while local customs and folklore (especially bullfighting, popular dances, flamenco and the *españolada*) were encouraged. The *Coros y Danzas* part of the *Sección Femenina* spread popular Spanish folk dances around the world, and No-Do heavily covered any and all international tours of *Coros y Danzas*. In addition to these, Francoist propaganda within Spain focused on local traditions (including dress) and rural idylls, even despite the massive urbanization that happened in the late 1940s and early 1950s due to drought and technological advancements. The regime employed these symbols as propaganda designed to foster love for the nation and national pride.

LOVE OF OTHERS, LOVE OF NATION: A GENEALOGY OF AFFECT THEORY

When talking about love for a nation, it behooves us to understand how contemporary affect theorists dissect emotions in general. The affective turn—or ways of exploring aspects of lived experience not addressed by traditional theoretical models—began in the late 1990s and early 2000s, as philosophers and theorists such as Brian Massumi, Rei Terada, Lauren Berlant, and Sara Ahmed began to explore the limits of corporeality, emotionality and subjectivity. Ahmed specifically locates the origins of the affective turn in feminist and queer theoretical writings on emotions from the 1980s. Eugenie Brinkema criticizes many works involving affect and film as being too subjective (by which is to be understood that they are lacking in formal analysis). Certain theorists (Massumi and Hardt, especially) argue that affect is different from emotion in various ways: in intensity (Massumi) and in "synthesis" of body and mind (Hardt). However, as Ahmed has pointed out, attempts to separate affect (as pre-personal, non-intentional, unmediated and unsignified) from emotion (as personal, intentional, mediated and signified) often operate as a gendered distinction that work to remove feminist and queer theoretical models from affect studies. I will address in the following paragraphs how four terms from across the vast expanse of affect theory aid in understanding my argument, specifically: "sticky associations" (Ahmed), "shimmers" (Gregg and Seigworth), "ordinary affects" (Stewart), and the "archive of feelings" (Cvetkovich). Finally, I will demonstrate how my methodology derives from affect theory, specifically, that developed by Sara Ahmed.

In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Sara Ahmed dissects the emotional work that texts do in forging relationships, specifically romantic, familial and national bonds. All relationships are formed when affects and emotions—such as love or even fear—work to align two individuals, to help us "turn towards" and "be with" others who are "like us" in

order to expand the space of our self. Ahmed argues that the emotional qualities and sympathies that we call 'affect' circulate across texts through the use of 'sticky associations,' growing stronger with each exchange and shaping individuals and nations in the process. For example, Ahmed offers an analysis of the phrase "the nation mourns" to show how the emotionality of texts functions to constitute the collective body of a nation as a 'feeling' subject (like an individual), thanks to the work emotions do as performative speech acts. She delves into the crux of how emotions work: they do not exist in texts, but rather arise from the act of being named. According to Ahmed, "[t]he words [for emotions] are not simply cut off from bodies, or other signs of life"; rather emotion itself works to 'stick' signs to bodies through textual dissemination (*Cultural Politics* 13). Like the god particle fostering mass, the agglomeration of affect within texts builds emotion and constitutes individual and collective bodies as a result.[7]

I do not distinguish between affect and emotion for the same reason that Ahmed does not; I see no need to parse them into "different aspects of experience" (*Cultural Politics* 208). Ahmed delineates her desire "to explore not only how bodies are 'pressed' upon by other bodies, but how these pressings become impressions, feelings that are suffused with ideas and values, however vague or blurry (in the sense of 'having an impression' of something)" (*Cultural Politics* 208). In this vein, I want to explore how the contact with the affective vessel of a foreign star, the impression that this foreign corpus —comprised of star text and body— 'presses upon' Spanish bodies, shapes a vision of Spanish national identity that reveals the slippages in the Franquista discourse of *Hispanidad*, highlighting the shimmers that bind certain foreign bodies to Spain.

---

[7]A common way for physicists to explain the god particle in layman's terms is to compare it to a celebrity at a party. From CNN: "Martin Archer, a physicist at Imperial College in London, explains the god particle by comparing the phenomenon to Justin Bieber in a crowd of teenage girls. If he tries to move through them, they slow him down, and his speed decreases the more they're attracted to him. According to Archer: 'We think we have found those teenage girls' (*Higgs Boson Is like ... a Justin Bieber Fan?*).

Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth title their overview of affect theory, "An Inventory of Shimmers," in reference to Roland Barthes' call for "a hyperconsciousness of the affective minimum, of the microscopic fragment of emotion…which implies an extreme changeability of affective moments, a rapid modification, into shimmer" (Gregg and Seigworth 10). These shimmers function not unlike strong interaction in physics in that they attract and bind objects together. They do not only serve to bond bodies colliding in space, however; they also function discursively to create ways of narrativized knowing.

Shimmer is an appropriate term in the context of celebrity and star studies, given the brilliance with which stars shine onscreen. Nigel Thrift analyzes the affective potential of "glamour" in stardom and fan relations, arguing that the aesthetic allure of glamour conjures awe to construct worlds (developed further in Part 3). Toija Cinque coined the term "digital shimmer" to better comprehend the ways in which star image spills into virtual relationships between stars and their fandom (forged contemporarily via the internet and social media) (465) While cinema has formal ways to evoke shimmer (via light refractions), the affective shimmers that appear in the discourses of foreign stars in Spain offer glimpses of the failures of censorship, the delights of subversion, and the potency of scandal. These shimmers hint at the lived realities for Spaniards under the regime, at the ordinary affects that structured their lives and livelihoods.

Kathleen Stewart argues that "ordinary affects are more compelling than ideologies" (3). In this, she makes a convincing case for understanding affect as a more potent force at work in the world than the ideologies traditionally understood as structuring cultural politics. Whereas Rei Terada argues in *Feeling in Theory* that emotions are nonsubjective and that it is only through the death of the subject that we are able to feel emotions at all, Stewart takes the opposite approach. Stewart's third-person narrator notes:

> Like a live wire, the subject channels what's going on around it in the process of its own self-composition. Formed by the coagulation of intensities, surfaces, sensations, perceptions, and expressions, it's a thing composed of encounters and the spaces and events it traverses or inhabits. (Stewart 79)

The subject, and the star image, too. Perhaps the star image is the culmination of the death of the subject and the affective potentiality of the star, representing only one measure of the intensities of ordinary affects.

Finally, I employ a sort of "archive of feelings", to borrow Ann Cvetkovich's term, exploring cultural texts such as tabloids, newsreels and films, as well as oral histories and the censors' archives, as "repositories of feelings and emotions, which are encoded not only in the content of the texts themselves but in the practices that surround their production and reception" (Cvetkovich 7). Specifically, within these texts are stored the affects towards foreign "others" and the traces of the emotions that the regime wanted Spaniards to feel, along with indications of the complex sentiments towards "others" that people actually felt.

My methodology in this study is heavily based off that developed in Ahmed's work: to follow symbols of Spanish national identity in the discourses of Hollywood and Latin American stars within Spain and see what those symbols do within those discourses. When I say that the discourse of *Hispanidad* "sticks" to foreign female celebrities, I am consciously borrowing the vocabulary that Sara Ahmed uses to parse affect. However, this means selecting certain national symbols over others, many of which contain deeply contested significations. Are democracy, liberalism and laic education Hispanic traits or values? Maybe not, according to the Black Legend and any attempts to shoehorn the country based on the Reconquest, the Inquisition, and imperial practices. That said, there have been significant reforms in these areas over the course of Spanish history, beginning

with the First Republic in 1873 and continuing through the Second Republic and the Transition to democracy.

Choosing to focus on the symbols of *Hispanidad* that the Franco regime promoted might in some ways seem like my work will simply reaffirm the Black Legend and reinforce Spain as a backwards, isolated and xenophobic place, mired in imperial nostalgia. By focusing on these symbols, however, I do not aim to demonstrate any sort of essentializing characteristic of the Spanish state or nation; rather, I hope to decipher how the Franco regime fostered both a fixed identity of Spanish-ness, and yet employed a certain ideological flexibility that allowed the dictatorship to endure forty years. This ideological flexibility allowed the regime to enact the "soft-power jiu-jitsu" detailed by Neil Rosendorf in *Franco Sells Spain to America*, even as it saw Spanish artists coopt aspects of the United States' culture and incorporate them as aspects of Spanish culture during the regime and after (see *¡Bienvenido Mister Marshall!*, the American tourists in *Muerte de un ciclista*, the American flags in *Cría cuervos*, and the Hollywood stereotypes that Almodóvar critiques in the 1980s).

The utility of the discourse of *Hispanidad* as the Franco regime deployed it in its propaganda for solidifying Spanish national identity is in the way that the affective power of national pride adheres to the symbols tasked with circulating it. The OED defines "pride" as "a feeling of satisfaction, pleasure or elation derived from some action, ability, possession, etc., which one believes does one credit" ("Pride"). Or can we accurately describe "pride" as an emotion or even an affect? Pride runs throughout Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, yet does not receive a chapter of its own, perhaps because pride seems to circulate on the back of other emotions, letting love, hatred and shame do most of the heavy lifting. Notice how the definition primarily places pride as originating within an individual as a result of integrity, arrogance or hard work. However, as Ahmed

notes, emotions do not simply surge within individuals, but they also circulate through signs, creating affective economies (*Cultural Politics* 15). Pride is fundamentally a type of orientation of oneself as equal to (or better than) the rest of the world, shaped via linguistic discourse.[8]

National pride shapes the collective body of the nation by demanding the internalization of the successes of others within that nation as one's own. Yet, Benedict Anderson barely mentions pride in his critique of nationalisms as "imagined communities." National pride demands love and devotion to the state as a way of reinforcing the imagined community that binds its citizens together. Ahmed notes that: "Love may be especially crucial in the event of the failure of the nation to deliver its promise for the good life" (*Cultural Politics* 130-131), and by the end of the 1940s in Spain—*los años de hambre*—it was clear that the Franco regime had failed to deliver on its promises of greatness, given the starvation conditions, the prevalence of a black-market economy and the international isolation that the UN had imposed. Historians (and other observers, such as US Ambassador Stanton Griffis) point to this last event, though, as a mistake that actually forced apolitical Spaniards into supporting the Franco regime, as it gave off the appearance of Spain versus the world. Ergo, as the Franco regime was unable to deliver on the prosperity that it had promised, Spaniards held ever tighter to the pride and love of their nation. The signs and symbols of the discourse of *Hispanidad* that I analyze in this study

[8] When discussing the emotional lives of individuals in a nation, Hermann Herlinghaus' work on melodrama and modernity comes to mind. Melodrama is a useful tool for thinking through the emotional excess of celebrity journalism and fascist propaganda; specifically, melodrama appears to funnel affect for more powerful circulation. Eva Woods has also written an article about the use of melodrama and the tactic of disconnect, arguing that cinematic melodrama viewed under the Franco regime "encouraged the expenditure of emotion that could not be shown in public" ("Melodrama" 127). I find, however, that the focus on the "grand narrative" of melodrama obscures the texture and nuance of how affect works, and this study is more interested in the function and particularities of certain types of affective objects than in any grand narrative.

helped them to do that. In addition, these signs and symbols "stuck" to foreign visitors, such as celebrities, as a way of incorporating them into the national imaginary.

Franco regime propaganda imbued the Spanish language, the geographic space of the former Empire and the Peninsula and traditional peninsular folklore and customs, with national pride. As these objects circulated within Spain, the affects that adhered to them helped to construct an understanding of what it meant to be Spanish under the regime. And when these objects circulated within the star texts of foreign female celebrities in Spain, that national pride "stuck" to these women too, and this process helps us to comprehend the Spanish nation as defined in its relation to the stars who visited. In this way, the Spanish nation in the twentieth century cohered not just around the dictatorship, but also around film-going and around the ways that celebrities such as Ava Gardner, Rita Hayworth and María Félix loved Spain, too.

THE AFFECTIVE POTENTIAL OF TRANSNATIONAL FEMALE STARS

If these women loved Spain, however, Spain (specifically the critics and reporters charged with representing their images in the press) loved them back. In this part, I will address how stardom builds an affective relationship between fans and stars, the specific relationship between fans and female stars, and how this affective relationship morphs for the transnational female star. Finally, I will apply this to the case of Spain to demonstrate the particular developments that made transnational stardom so fraught from 1945-1953.

Richard Dyer concludes his famous tome *Stars* with the suggestion: "Instead of asking 'what does stardom mean?', a new question would be 'what does stardom do?'" (Dyer and McDonald 200). I would like to propose that the representational labor of stardom harnesses affects in the quotidian work of world-building. The production and consumption of certain stars works to align fans and spectators with certain worldviews.

This does not mean to say that fans cannot like multiple stars; rather, fan preferences for certain stars may reveal ideological biases that shape their worldviews.[9] Ahmed argues that "identification expands the space of the subject: it is a form of love that tells the subject what it could become in the intensity of its direction towards another" (Ahmed 126). Crucially, this expansion of space can come about as a result of both fear and love: fear of the Other binds us to those we perceive as 'like us,' as does idealized identification via love. This helps to explain how star images harness affect and build relationships with their fans. When fans identify with stars, they project their own potentiality onto the figure of that star; they expand the space of themselves in the intensity of their love and admiration. Foreign stardom, especially, allows for the expansion of space to incorporate an idea of expansion of the nation.

Another way to understand what stardom does is to trace the ways in which affects circulate via mechanical or even digital artifacts and parse how affective attachments can form via these objects. Walter Benjamin argues that the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction lacks an aura, or its authority as an original (Benjamin 3-4). Given that there are many copies of a movie sent around the world, the relationship between viewer and work of art is more diffuse than the relationship forged with a sculpture or painting that has been inherited, sold, stolen and visited for years if not centuries. To Benjamin, the authority of the work of art derives from a trajectory of corporeal and tactile interventions with the materiality of the object; however, he does not address how these tactile interventions house affective attachments. In fact, what Benjamin denotes as the "aura" of a work of art

[9]For instance, as a fan of celebrity and stardom in the 21st century I can like Beyoncé and Taylor Swift equally as much—many women (and men!) do—but I may not follow Kim Kardashian because I don't think she has done much of consequence to deserve her fame. That reveals an ideological bias on my part—towards perceived musical or artistic talent combined with shrewd business sense and away from stardom as pure money-grubbing. See also: the 2016 US election cycle. The Donald won because of his ability to manifest the ideological apparatus and contradictions of his stardom into a political coalition.

is really the accretion of affect via a history of corporeal contact. The tactile relationship that we forge with movies is much different, although in the case of the Franco regime, cinema acquired its own sort of aura: a corporeal knowledge of traversing the city, a nostalgia for navigating the city (architecturally, politically, religiously and socially) in a particular era (Marsh 113).[10]

P. David Marshall uses Benjamin's term "aura" to explain the construction of the celebrity image and the authority that celebrity texts exercise within popular culture (Marshall 81). Though Marshall's objects of study are far more contemporary than the movie stars included in this study, his methodology is still fitting, given recent arguments that place the origins of celebrity in the late 1800s (see Roach 2007, Inglis 2010 and Studlar 2016, among others). Though the concept of a "movie star" came to be narrowly defined—especially in the period occupying this study—the construction of the movie star's fame and popularity nonetheless relied on a similar manipulation of "aura." I would like to propose that the star's body itself houses the celebrity aura by serving as the site wherein affects coalesce; where they mix, mingle, stick and erupt in a performance of fame, 'normalcy' and conflicting ideologies. This interplay does not happen in a vacuum: rather, it is the result of the interaction between spectator and star image that reinforces the celebrity's aura. As Gaylyn Studlar argues: "The notion of the auratic suggests that the lure of celebrity can break boundaries and inspire unexpected responses of emotional depth, loyalty and transformation" (75). The celebrity aura is crafted from the relational alchemy of text and body—the corporeality of image and text made manifest—and the contact that

[10]Perhaps the most colorful example of how some Spaniards engaged hapticly with cinema comes from a news article about the popularity of *Gilda* in Barcelona: "Y en alguna ciudad se dio el caso pintoresco de pasear por la calle una silueta de 'Gilda', como los toreros son llevados en hombros hasta el hotel en las tardes triunfales" ("Hablemos de Gilda" 15).

text and body have with the spectator and fan. Films may be the primary vehicles for star consumption, but fans also read gossip magazines and purchase collectibles like autographed close-ups or collector's cards (or even steal cardboard cutouts). They spread rumors like the one that opens this Introduction and tell stories of chance encounters with celebrities…of how nice or mean they were, or of how intimidated the fan was to approach them because of how in awe they were, or even of how the star engaged with or avoided their fans. In this way, the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction may be not simply an object, but also sometimes a body. Aura in the mechanical age includes the affective potency of the celebrity body at work in the world and in world-making.

If the celebrity body works to coalesce affect and house aura in the mechanical age, then interactions with celebrities (and the ways in which those interactions are mediated) are integral to the affective work that celebrity performs. Film-going was one of the few means of escape from the harsh realities of everyday life under the Franco regime, augmented by the felt attachment to cinema and stars as helping to make life under the regime habitable (Marsh 114). As a result, the Spanish public developed an affective relationship with Hollywood stars. And yet even as individual Spaniards used film-going to escape their suffering, the regime coopted Hollywood film through partnership with the US and with Hollywood, thus subsuming a principal tactic of survival under the official culture of the regime. This absorption occurred via censorship, which forced the incorporation of certain symbols of Spanish identity into the transnational representation of these women. Signs such as the Spanish language, the space of the Peninsula, idealized conceptions of motherhood, Spanish heroines and regional costumes and customs all "stick" (or don't) to the representations of the six women I study in ways that demonstrate how the discourse of *Hispanidad* morphed under the Franco regime from one of isolation and imperial nostalgia to one of incorporation (of certain, desirable 'others').

This project takes as its subject six actresses precisely because of the representational power that the female star embodies. As Molly Haskell argues about women in film from the early to mid-twentieth century:

> Far more than men, women [stars] were the vessels of men's and women's fantasies and the barometers of changing fashion. Like the two-way mirrors linking the immediate past with the immediate future, women in the movies reflected, perpetuated, and in some respects offered innovations on the roles of women in society. (Haskell 12)

Women's images encompass fashion, society and conceptions of national identity, always with enough flexibility such that when their star discourse is exported abroad, it morphs to incorporate international perspectives. Studlar notes that "The presentation as well as the reception of celebrity often occurs in gender-differentiated ways that carry hierarchical values, with female sexuality assuming a large role in the inscription of women's celebrity and interest in it" (66). Female stardom, especially, served to challenge broadly held cultural values—such as those of submission and passivity—as female ambition and financial empowerment became visible and acceptable. Stars are not just a locus of discourse; they are also a locus of affect and attractions that align bodies and ideologies. Affect and discourse function together in the construction of transnational stardom thanks to the hybrid nature of the transnational star and the ability of her image to flow and shift across borders.

The shifts that occur in a star's discourse as it crosses national boundaries illustrates how star images are manipulated by various constituencies to make meaning in the world. Paul Rixon argues that the representation of a star image is actively incorporated for a foreign audience by journalists and other media professionals, as they "choose, adapt, change and help to assimilate celebrity profiles" for their local audience" (Rixon 49). Questions of race and ethnicity are elided in discourses of transnational stardom, precisely

because the process of nationalization to which a star discourse must expose itself is fundamentally a process of whitening. Transnational cinematic and star practices often serve to reinforce existing structures of imperialism, as critics like Seth Fein and Lisa Shaw have pointed out in the context of transnational Latin American stars in Hollywood during the Cold War.[11] Such was also the case with Spain and Latin American cinema under the Franco regime, as Latin American stars participated in the Spanish film industry, but only insofar as their participation might improve the chances of Spanish films to succeed in Latin American markets (Díaz Lopez 28).

Whenever we are dealing with stars in any context, we cannot forget Richard Dyer's reminder that when we talk about celebrities

> we are dealing with stars in terms of their signification, not with them as real people. The fact that they are also real people is an important aspect of how they signify, but we never know them directly as real people, only as they are to be found in media texts. (Dyer and McDonald 2)

The question of signification becomes even more complex in discourses of transnational stardom, as stars are symbols of cultural imperialism, re-signified within Spain to reinforce Spanish national identity. The difference between the individual and the star persona as a sign is doubly important in Franco Spain, given that the discourse on foreign stars is influenced not just by studio-manipulated press releases, but also by the Franco regime's own practices of censorship. According to Labanyi, "The censors did not just cut and suppress texts; they rewrote, added to texts, issued their own texts" (Labanyi 207). Thus, in the years of autarky, Franco's Spain was not only internationally isolated, it also discursively comprised its own world and created the lens through which the Spanish press molded the ways in which its public viewed certain types of foreigners.

---

[11] See Seth Fein "Myths of Cultural Imperialism and nationalism in Golden Age Mexican Cinema" and Lisa Shaw "The Celebritisation of Carmen Miranda in New York, 1939-1941, among others.

Granted, the way that the press worked to shape the public's knowledge of the outside world and the way that Spaniards actually perceived foreigners are markedly different. In fact, one could say that censorship always-already modified how Spaniards approached any and all discourse under the Franco regime. To return to Labanyi: "Censorship was counter-productive in that it produced a hyper-politicization of culture, with censors, artists, and public keen to read the political into everything, but the recourse to techniques of allusion restricted appeal to a minority public" (Labanyi 214). Individual Spaniards made a habit of reading all publications against the grain, knowing that the regime's censoring body had modified the message. As Alejandro Herrero-Olaizola states about growing up in Spain: "I was constantly reminded of an authoritative and censorial entity poised to watch over my thinking process" (Herrero-Olaizola xi). If knowledge of the existence of censorial bodies shaped individual Spaniards' thinking processes, it nonetheless encouraged a sort of civil disobedience in Spaniards through defiant acts of reading. And in the case of film stars, these defiant acts of reading were undertaken by the press themselves, as reporters crafted their tales of foreign stars in Spain both for the censors and for the popular audience.

The texts written about foreign stars during their trips to Spain belie stars as signs of foreign nationalisms, instead promoting a sort of 'felt communal knowing' of them as 'real people,' based around the symbols, values and ideals of *Hispanidad*. I define 'felt communal knowing' as the affective intuitive attachment that binds communities of fans to the stars they adore. It is based on the familiarity that the discourses found in star texts breed among fans, and the Spanish language itself can help to parse its meaning, as 'felt communal knowing' aligns more closely with the sense of familiarity indicated by the word *conocer*, as opposed to the objective truth found in *saber*. If we think of ways of knowing within the world as culturally dependent and multi-faceted endeavors, then the embodied

attachment that defines star discourse mimics the "emotional legitimacy" that Benedict Anderson identified as the power behind nationalisms (Anderson 4). This 'felt communal knowing' is bolstered by bodily proximity with the star, either vicariously through a reporter or by the star's presence in Spain. By 'presence,' I mean physical encounters of any kind between stars and fans, as well as mediated encounters such as newsreel footage of stars in Spanish settings, or rumors of encounters. For this reason, I rely on work that Jo Labanyi, Eva Woods, Kathleen Vernon and Steven Marsh have done in gathering oral histories of cinema-going under the Franco regime, even as I bolster my claims by referencing memoirs and accounts of cinematic history that rely on personal memories.

One question that arose during the conception of this dissertation was how to understand transnational star discourses under harsh censorship. Specifically, dubbing and other editorial modifications to text and image altered the ways that foreign stardom was enunciated within Spain (for instance, Spaniards never heard stars' real voices unless they spoke Spanish, and even then, maybe not). Clothing became much more modest under censorship, with higher necklines and covered midriffs and arms revealing a certain artistry to the censorship process (with illustrators even imitating intricate patterns, like that of the white dress that Rita Hayworth wears during the song "Amado mío" in *Gilda*). And yet, knowledge that censorship was occurring also meant that individuals sometimes read TOO deeply into images. For instance, when Hayworth seductively removes her glove while singing "Put the Blame on Mame" in *Gilda*, some Spaniards thought that she had performed a full strip (Labanyi, "Cinema and the Mediation of Everyday Life in 1940s and 1950s Spain" 20). These slight changes to a star's text might not seem to be enough to alter it, and yet, such shifts make it more likely that a star's text will be successfully "nationalised" (to use Rixon's connotation of the term) for a Spanish audience. In this way,

they are something that we must pay attention to if we ever hope to understand how transnational star discourses work.

The typical Spaniard saw the discourse of *Hispanidad* play out to strange effect in the articles and news surrounding foreign film stars, as foreign women were simultaneously presented as "other" and yet served as the canvases onto which certain Hispanic qualities were projected. On the one hand, the concepts that defined *Hispanidad* were manipulated by the Franco regime in media representations of US and Latin American actresses as a way to control how foreigners were represented in Spain. The popularity of Hollywood and Latin American cinema was both a thorn in the side of the cinematic apparatus of Franco Spain and a solution to the country's international isolation. Though Franco recognized the significance of the cinematic industry in disseminating an ideological stance and in diverting the masses, the destruction of the Spanish cinematic industry as a result of the Civil War meant that the technological and artistic quality of Spanish films was far behind that of both the Hollywood and Latin American industries, especially Mexico. Latin American stars already fell under the broad reaches of *Hispanidad*, purely because of their origins in countries that had formerly pertained to the Spanish Empire. Though *Hispanidad* extoled the legacy of the Spanish Empire in Latin America, it nonetheless rejected the privileging of racial mixing and indigenous backgrounds that was flowering in the national imaginary of these countries at this time. In contrast, as I will explain, Hollywood stars such as Ava Gardner were portrayed as being almost Hispanic due to the similarities between her appearance and that of the *morena clara*, a unique solution to the anti-Anglo sentiment expounded by *Hispanidad*. Through *Hispanidad*, both Latin Americans and Americans are sometimes represented as "othered" (especially when their actions do not coincide with the Francoist ideology of National-Catholicism); however, when symbols of

Hispanidad infiltrate the star texts of foreign actresses, they serve as a subtle sign of the women's acceptability (or of the acceptability of some of her actions) to the regime.

Alexander Walker proposed that the invention of sound technology in film led to what Dyer later termed the "de-divinisation" of stars, as any steps towards making movies more natural contributed to making celebrities seem more down-to-earth (Dyer and McDonald 22). Physical encounters with stars contribute to a similar phenomenon: as Spaniards encountered stars off the screen through visits to Spain (where they were talked and written about first-hand by Spanish reporters, seen on the street, at bullfights, on beaches, and so on), they became more real, more knowable, in some way.

Though my project primarily addresses the written discourse—press, censor's archives, memoirs—surrounding a star's image in Spain, I would like to posit the importance of the physical presence of certain stars in Spain to their transnational star discourse within the country. By spending time in Spain, the stars' geographic proximity makes their personhood seem more accessible; thus, the longevity and depth of their star discourse within the country becomes even more powerful. Stars embody a promise—of glamor, excitement, wealth, spectacle, happiness—that their fans seek to fulfill only through proximity. Through a star's presence in the country, the star as an object of desire is seemingly close enough to fulfill what Lauren Berlant has called "the cluster of promises we want someone or something to make to us and make possible for us" (Berlant 93). If, as Sara Ahmed states, "promises ground our expectations of what is to come" (Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness,* 30), and if the object of desire resides in "a cluster of promises", stars as objects of desire are inherently unknowable, inaccessible beings whose very existence is to house promises too impossible to fulfill as well as to serve as the site wherein we store the affective attachments to those promises. The following chapters will elaborate

the promises of foreign stardom under the Franco regime, as well as the ways in which the cinematic symbols came reinforce regime ideology.

PART SUMMARIES

Part 1: Queering Domesticity and Motherhood in Dolores de Río and Joan Crawford's Star Texts analyzes the gender discourse and Catholic moral values of the Franco regime in texts written about Dolores del Río and Joan Crawford in Spain. Both *María Candelaria* and *Mildred Pierce* underwent censorship before premiering in Spain, and as reports gleaned from the censors' archives indicate, the altered films constructed an image of the Americas as a site of violence, corruption and sin, especially with regard to the role and moral abandon of women in society. Del Río's 1954 Spanish-made film, *Señora ama*, based on a play by Spanish playwright Jacinto Benavente, provides a regime-sponsored antidote to the sorts of "loose" roles she had portrayed in other world cinemas. In addition to film, my analysis in this part considers film reviews, interviews, and photographs to demonstrate how the representations of the star discourse of Del Río differed from that of Crawford in Spanish magazines (such as *Fotógramas*, *Cámara* and *Primer Plano*), as well as in newspapers, such as *ABC*.

In **Part 2: Almost Brethren: Race and Ethnicity in the Star Images of María Félix and Rita Hayworth**, I will demonstrate how the concepts of race and whiteness influenced the transnational star discourses of María Félix and Rita Hayworth in Spain. Though María Félix was consistently represented as foreign in her Spanish-made films—*Mare Nostrum*, *Una noche del sábado* and *La corona negra*—, articles from *Primer Plano* and *Fotógramas* integrated her into the Spanish national imaginary by incorporating symbols of Spanish national identity into her star image and emphasizing qualities that aligned her with the gender discourse of the Franco regime. In contrast, Rita Hayworth's

complex negotiations with her Spanish heritage in Hollywood played differently in Spain, as the physical changes that she underwent to lighten her appearance for an Anglo audience were simultaneously admired and reviled by publications in her ancestral homeland. In addition, the uproar caused by the Spanish premiere of *Gilda* rocked the country in a way that contributed to an understanding of Hayworth's star image as hypersexualized, scandalous and at odds with the gender discourse of the Franco regime, even in spite of her Spanish ancestry.

Nonetheless, no Anglo star had a more complex relationship with Spain at the middle of the twentieth century as Ava Gardner, and in **Part 3: Costume and Consumption in the Star Discourses of Carmen Miranda and Ava Gardner in Spain**, I compare Gardner's star discourse in Spain with that of Carmen Miranda, a star known for having redefined conceptualizations of what it meant to be Latin American in the 20th century. I argue that the representation of Gardner in the Spanish press in the early 1950s (in addition to her role in *The Barefoot Contessa* (1954) and her subsequent life in Spain) exemplifies how the press represented foreign women as adhering to the moral values of the Franco regime—even in spite of their actions—by dressing them up in traditional Spanish garb. Though such acts might be seen as simply another costume for a skilled actress, the dressing-up of Gardner in folkloric Spanish gowns illustrates another level of the discourse and ambiguities of *Hispanidad*. By representing Gardner dressed as a *sevillana* or in a *mantilla*, the text of the press not only constructs her as Spanish, but also visually represents her as such multiple times. In contrast, the costumes of Carmen Miranda (in all her roles) construct a tropical sexiness for Latin American women. Before Miranda's films arrived under the Franco regime, her star image was read in Spain as bolstering internationally the discourse of *Hispanidad*, in spite of her risqué dress. The arrival of her star vehicles in the country, however, challenged Spanish notions of *Hispanidad*. Later on,

the Spanish tourist industry would adopt elements of Miranda's tropicalized costume to appeal to a North American audience. How does costuming function within the star discourse, and how does costume in relation to Gardner's star discourse in Spain compare with that of Miranda? How were both exported abroad to Spain? Finally, how does the costume of the chaste Spanish woman on the body of a notoriously unchaste actress highlight a more slippery gender discourse behind *Hispanidad*? What does all of this say regarding the phenotypic ideal of the *morena clara* in the racialization of the Franco regime?

This dissertation will conclude by addressing a few of the ways in which nostalgia and the historical memory of Hollywood stardom in Spain have surged recently. The Franco regime's international negotiations bled into the country thanks to cinema, and the popularity of foreign stars in the country both reflected this international pull and helped prepare the Spaniards who stayed for these slight discursive shifts. I analyze Fernando Trueba's most recent film, *La reina de España*, to show how the secret lives of transnational star discourses continue to inform Spanish representations of Hollywood and US pop culture. In this way, this study contributes to a richer understanding of the culture of escapism and survival that characterized the early years of the Franco regime.

PART 1

QUEERING DOMESTICITY AND MOTHERHOOD IN DOLORES DEL RÍO AND JOAN CRAWFORD'S STAR TEXTS

"Las madres son las mujeres de España que han fundado a España al fundar sus hijos: los españoles." Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *España nuestra*

The twin symbols of Spanish femininity—domesticity and motherhood—marked the discursive construction of women under autarky and reinforced the Catholic bent of Franquista National-Catholicism. As mentioned in the Introduction, National-Catholicism led to the imprisonment and execution of suspected and actual Republican sympathizers and the repression of regional identities and languages. This oppression subsumed all Spanish citizens under a homogenous national identity that glorified nostalgia for imperial power and the spread of Catholicism. Religious crusade and national identity conflated to create a confusing hodge-podge of patriotic symbols that could be mapped onto any figure, even foreigners. After all, the construction of a national body based around racial or ethnic identity theoretically has a biological basis for union. However, the creation of a national identity under the auspices of a spiritual body requires that religious ideology foster nationalistic sentiments, with no regard for biology (at least discursively). If Catholicism was intended as the spiritual axis of the regime, then individuals' religious lives not only became markers of citizenship, but Catholicism also became the primary way to shape individuals as Spaniards.

This part briefly delineates the gendered assumptions that characterized National-Catholicism for men, before delving into the defining traits of what Aurora Morcillo has termed "true Catholic womanhood." I will then examine how the twin feminine pillars of

motherhood and domesticity bolstered regime propaganda both internally and externally before analyzing the confluence of "the family" as an affective object and as the basis of the nation in this propaganda. The representation of "true Catholic womanhood" onscreen falls under the archetype of "the good girl" or *la buena mujer*—the innocent woman who prioritizes home and motherhood—while the femme fatale, or *la mujer mala* was "othered" and relegated to signifying foreign-ness. Finally, in the two chapters that comprise this part, I propose that Dolores del Río's and Joan Crawford's star discourses implied a queer domesticity and motherhood under the Franco regime.

Embodying Catholic religious values became the path by which Spaniards were expected to feel themselves to be at one with their nation under Franco; however, this embodiment meant different things to different people. It asked men to serve as fathers, priests or monks—inscribing either a heterosexual or celibate commitment onto their lives and livelihoods. Under the first decade of the Franco regime, the ideal Spaniard was a male Catholic—chaste yet virile, strong yet subservient—who had supported the Nationalist cause from the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Those who did not were branded as having been swayed by foreign influences and heavily persecuted for having supported the losing side. Part of this persecution labeled male Republican sympathizers as effeminate, and thus foreign; according to Jill Robbins,

> In Nationalist discourse, Republican men were portrayed as effeminate, in comparison to their virile Nationalist counterparts. And 'woman' was split in two: the middle-to-upper-class private woman, wife and mother, idealized by the nationalists, and the lower class public woman, rhetorically associated by Francoists with Republicanism, Judaism, and Communism and demonized as an unnatural whore, a filthy Harpy, or a repulsively deformed monster. (Robbins 90-91)

Catholicism demanded that women serve as wives and mothers—if not of their own families, then as wives of God and auxiliary mothers to the marginalized via seclusion in a nunnery. Nationalistic ideologies similarly demanded a gendered division of labor, requiring that men produce goods and women produce children in service of the state. National-Catholicism merged these two ideologies rather seamlessly as the hierarchy of the Church reinforced that of the State and vice-versa, while both imposed the same gendered division of labor on Spanish citizens' spiritual and civic lives.

Aurora Morcillo argues that the agenda of the gender discourse originating from National-Catholicism elaborated the expectations of a "true Catholic womanhood" (Morcillo "Shaping" 51). The elision of Catholicism with Spanish national identity reached its zenith under the Franco regime, as Catholic values imbued representations of and expectations for women under the Spanish state. Though "true Catholic womanhood" provided the model for upper-class femininity (the private woman, wife and mother confined to the domestic sphere), any woman who did not fit that model and any man who was perceived as not being a "true Spaniard" was thus labeled as foreign and disowned (either through exile, or through the internal exile of prisons and internment camps). Motherhood came to symbolize the relationship of the state to Spanish citizens who supported it, while femininity in men and aggressive sexuality in women came to be identified as foreign.

Not only did the regime foster the ideal of a "true Catholic womanhood," but such a model came to define Spanish femininity as a gendered performance of national identity.

As mentioned in the Introduction, *Hispanidad* incorporated a pedagogical discourse that hegemonically defined behaviors appropriate to Spanish female sexuality. Such behaviors were chastity and modesty (both before and during marriage), obedience (to men and to the state) and self-sacrifice. According to Raquel Osborne,

> El franquismo exacerba estos papeles y, para lograr el paradigma de la «nueva España», dictamina que las mujeres tienen que ser virtuosas—ergo encarnadoras de las cualidades de abnegación, sacrificio, honestidad, modestia y obediencia--, y la virtud en femenino carece de una sexualidad propia. (Osborne 10)

Divorces and affairs were technically illegal in Spain under Franco and the former (if not the latter, at least for men) was relatively uncommon.[12] Nonetheless, such occurrences were represented within Spain in the *prensa rosa* as being a problem caused by the loose morals of other countries.

Sexuality—or rather, the social mores that defined female sexuality—also served to characterize some representations of femininity as foreign. Since Spanish women were supposed to be chaste, pure and void of any sexual desire, sexualized women were anathema to the gender discourse of the Franco regime. The regime's censorship apparatus frequently required that images of (foreign) women in the media be retouched to make their clothing appear more modest: necklines raised, hems lowered, sleeves added.[13] The very

---

[12]As late as 1972, Spaniards under the Franco regime were still debating the effects of divorce, as seen in an anthology titled *¿Divorcio, en España*?, containing historical, sociological, legal and ethical arguments for and against permitting the dissolution of marriage in Spain. My favorite line is from the part discussing international perspectives on divorce, specifically the reasoning behind divorces in the US: "Sobre el fondo sustancial, las causas de divorcio son siempre casuísticas o tipificadas, y casi siempre fundamentadas en el concepto de culpa de uno de los cónyuges; pero hay algunas también de naturaleza objetiva (enfermedad mental, impotencia) y de naturaleza, a la inversa, subjetiva, tal como la 'incompatibilidad de caracteres', que es uno de los motivos más respetables de separación en EE.UU., porque en la mayoría de los casos ambos esposos están cansados y están de común acuerdo que ya no es posible volver a los primeros tiempos de felicidad conyugal" (Alemany Gal Boguñá 163).

[13] For an excellent visual presentation of the sorts of modifications that Spanish censors made to film materials (posters, handbills, headshots), see Bienvenido Llopis *La censura franquista en el cartel de cine* (2013).

existence of such an apparatus illustrates how foreign women were viewed as over-sexed in accordance with the regime's ideology.

Catholicism may have constituted the "spiritual axis" of the Franco regime, but the symbolism of the family—specifically the link between mother and child—established the foundation for national pride:

> La patria también fue imaginada como una madre que se convirtió en símbolo de una España igualmente eternal, con atributos concretos y deudores precisamente de los procesos de nacionalización española insertos en un modelo político autoritario, pero que la presentaban como una realidad inmutable en el tiempo y en el espacio. De este modo, no solo sirvió como modelo para futuras madres sino, destacamos aquí, para que los niños, especialmente los varones, potenciaran su vínculo emocional con la nación. (Blasco Herranz "Género y nación" 71)

Motherhood dissociated from sexuality thus not only functioned as a symbol of the nation, but also served as a breeding ground upon which the emotional terrain of nationalism might flourish.

Motherhood was not only symbolic of the state itself; rather, the expectations of self-sacrifice, honesty, modesty and obedience applied to the conduct of all Spanish citizens. According to Robbins, "the 'good' mother thereby became a model of citizenry in autarkic Spain, confined to the prison of her borders" (91). Just as women were relegated to the confines of the domestic sphere, Spanish citizens were confined by the borders of the state. And just as Spanish women were allowed and expected to exercise strict authority over their children, so too did the regime exercise its power over its citizens. The only difference is that the final authority in both home and state was housed in the patriarchal role of the father. While the family may have represented the state in microcosm under the Franco regime, the regime set itself up as both father and mother of its citizen-children.

Motherhood also formed a particular orientation within the context of *Hispanidad*, as it came to define Spain's historical, imperial relationship with Latin America. As

explained in the Introduction, *Hispanidad* under Franco was a familial discourse of brotherhood that linked peoples across national boundaries, ethnic divides, geography and time, but under the Franco regime, it became a hierarchical discourse that represented Spain as the maternal figure giving life and order to her symbolic progeny, the former colonies. Thus, not only was motherhood characterized as the only way to feminine fulfillment within the Spanish nation, nor was it purely symbolic of the nation's role with regard to its citizens; rather, motherhood also came to denote Spain's legacy in Latin America, placing Latin Americans in a docile, almost infantilized, role with regards to Spain.

Though Latin Americans were no longer members of the Spanish empire, the Franco regime tried to exert its authority over them through appeals to common culture and shared history, projecting itself as the benevolent mother who bestowed the gifts of Catholicism and "civilization" on a savage land. This imagery appears in various iterations of Francoist propaganda; Ernesto Giménez Caballero writes a series of works (beginning with *Amor a Cataluña* in 1942, *Amor a Andalusia* in 1944 and *Amor a Galicia* in 1947) that take the internal conquest of Castilla-La Mancha over peripheral peninsular regions and projects (via parallelism) this conquest onto Latin America in *Amor a Argentina* (1948) and *Amor a Méjico* (1948). In his short book, *Norteamérica sonrie a España*, Giménez Caballero refers to Spain as the inventor of the Americas, claiming that the US must feel a "gratitud filial a España por ser el inventor de las Américas" (20). He clearly mixes his metaphors here: Spain as the inventor of the Americas reflects the appeal to US capitalism and economic power, but the filial gratitude comes from the familial discourse that still resonated in Spain at this time, linking the nation to both North and South America as the "Mother of the Americas." De Maeztu had developed such thoughts in *Defensa de la Hispanidad*, claiming that

> Los pueblos no se unen en la libertad, sino en la comunidad. Nuestra comunidad no es racial, ni geográfica, sino spiritual. Es en el espíritu donde hallamos al mismo tiempo la comunidad y el ideal. Y es la Historia quien nos lo descubre. En cierto sentido está sobre la Historia porque es el catolicismo. (de Maeztu 45)

De Maeztu sees Catholicism (spread by Spain during the conquest of the Americas) as the primary link connecting Spain and its former colonies—even above language, geography and blood ties.

Catholicism and civilization combined in an idealized representation of Spanish femininity—based on the 19th century ideology of domesticity—that projected motherhood and housekeeping as the ultimate goals of feminine fulfillment.[14] Much of the discourse on the "ideology of domesticity" (both in 19th and 20th century Spain) revolves around the domesticated woman as a mother in her own right; however, the other half of the ideology of domesticity is that even women without children *should* somehow be domestic. According to Robbins, "The ideology of domesticity, and the concept of essential gender difference upon which it was based, was, of course, commonly accepted throughout Spain, even among the majority of upper-class Republican women in the 1930's" (91). This ideology implied not only certain class privileges—in that a single male breadwinner could earn enough to support his wife and a large Catholic family—but also the limitations of women's freedom, through relegation to what Robbins labels "the prison of her own house" (91).

Domesticity reinforces a special link between women and home, and thus, the expectation of women as caretakers. Inmaculada Blasco Herranz elaborates on the dual symbolism of the figure of the mother under the Franco regime, claiming that motherhood

[14] As elaborated by Mary Nash in *Mujer, familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936)*, Lou Charnon-Deutsch in "On Desire and Domesticity in Spanish Nineteenth-Century Women's Novels" and in "Concepción Arenal and the Nineteenth Century Spanish debates about women's sphere and education," and Bridget Aldaraca in *El ángel del hogar: Galdós and the ideology of domesticity in Spain*.

> Funcionó, por tanto, no sólo como modelo femenino, al que las mujeres debían aspirar de manera natural, sino también como símbolo de la nación con un gran poder evocador (de armonía, paz social y orden jerárquico), que reforzaba a la vez un valor nacional muy naturalizado: el especial vínculo entre la madre y el hijo. (Blasco Herranz, "Género y nación" 67)

Extrapolating family dynamics onto those of citizenry and the state reinforced the particular nationalizing project of the Franco regime, as state hierarchy and authority were consolidated within the family unit. In this way, Spanish national identity was conceptualized in terms of the family. The regime itself saw the family as an apt metaphor for the Spanish nation, as it painted Franco (and the government) as the paternalistic father figure, with the citizens as the nation's obedient children.

In fact, Franco's own family, with his wife, Carmen Polo, and daughter, Carmen Franco Polo, symbolized the ideal Spanish family (though even this is not completely representative, as the ideal Spanish Catholic family was far more prolific). According to Helen Graham, "The patriarchal family was seen as representing the corporate order of the state in microcosm" (184). Ergo, Spanishness was not just predicated on family relations; it also circulated, "stuck" and bound individuals to their families and thus, to the state. In fact, this is exactly what Graham argues:

> The family, as envisaged by the regime, was unthreatening because it connected vertically with the state rather than horizontally within society. Thus, it reinforced the unity and power of the state, rather than challenging it as did the horizontal solidarities of civil society (other sorts of 'family'/affective ties, political parties, trade unions, and the traditions of civil associationism). (184)

The affective ties that Graham identifies in the solidarity of workers' unions and political parties sought to create horizontal solidarity (relations of brotherhood) for unrelated people. The organization of *nacionalsindicalismo* promoted by the Franco regime subsumed workers' rights into the overall hierarchical business structure under the direction of a managerial authority figure, much as the family subsumed women and

children into a hierarchy dominated by the male breadwinner and father figure. The only organization allowed under the Franco regime that might have sought to affectively tie people together horizontally across society was the Catholic Church, and even this is suspect, as the Church's emphasis on hierarchy clearly reflects the vertical integration so prized in the Franco state.

Thus, the Catholic family came to serve discursively as a marker of national identity under the Franco regime. Taking family as a marker of national identity implies a particular affective orientation toward the nation, not only of pride, but also of pleasure. According to Sara Ahmed, "The family, for example, is a happy object, one that binds and is binding" (*Promise* 45). I would add that under the Franco regime, the family was also a Spanish object, with motherhood held discursively as the only way for women to exist for the nation. According to Blasco Herranz, in the Franco regime, "Se elogiaba a las madres «[e]spañolas cien por cien» porque criaban hijos para la patria sin pensar en el momento de darlos al sacrificio" (Blasco Herranz, "Mujeres y nación" 191). Motherhood was a way of "being-for-the-nation" (Ahmed *Cultural Politics* 123) that was predicated on family as a happy, national object: the intimate site of a happy *Hispanidad*.

This is not to imply that all families under the regime felt themselves a part of a happy *Hispanidad*, but rather that the propaganda of the regime oriented personal fulfillment toward national fulfillment. The happy *Hispanidad* propagated by the Franco regime was a peculiar form of happiness, that of a *resignación feliz*. The paradox entailed by this sort of "happy resignation" was that the men and women fighting on the Republican side would gladly resign themselves to their fates under the regime. For women, especially, this meant a complete withdrawal from public life and submission to domesticity. According to Graham, "The domestic space too—even the family, despite the regime's ideological appropriation of it—was subjectively experienced as a haven against state

persecution, in contrast to the street where 'defeated' workers could be subjected to humiliation or worse at the hands of agents of the victorious order (Falangists, police, etc.)" (189). In addition, the Franco regime represented the national territory as a haven from foreign persecution, especially after the 1946 UN embargo. The domestic space thus provides a home for the nation and represents a refuge from attacks both within and outside the national territory. In fact, one of the reasons that led the UN to rescind its embargo of Spain in 1950 was that international judgment had bound Spaniards ever more tightly to the Franco regime, as it had allowed for the propagandistic portrayal of their nation as the victim of international persecution (Byrnes 274). In this way, both the concept of family and the domestic space as idealized in the home came to serve as the affective sites of idealized nationhood for women under *Hispanidad*.

The representation of "true Catholic womanhood" onscreen took the archetypal form of "la buena mujer." "La buena mujer," is the "good girl," literally translated. Figuratively, she is a virgin, pure, innocent, with good intentions, desiring to get married, stay at home and raise her children. Greer Litton Fox argues that the "good girl" is a value construct that restricts behavioral norms for women and ergo serves as a form of social control (805). "La buena mujer," under the Franco regime, functioned similarly as an idealized archetype of femininity propagated by the Catholic Church and used as a weapon to repress women who did not conform (Sánchez 109). In US films, this archetype persisted as the blond girl-next-door; in Spanish films, the virtuous, Spanish Catholic woman. Specifically, *la buena mujer* aligns with the expectations of "true Catholic womanhood," and reinforces an unattainable archetype of femininity as the site of legitimate female Spanish national identity.

As the opposite of *la buena mujer*, *la mujer mala* represents the figure of destruction of home and family: the bad girl, the vamp, the femme fatale. At its heart, the

femme fatale is a female stereotype that represents an anxiety around unattended women in general, around women who have nothing better to do than sit at home all day (Jancovich 101). However, societal suspicions surrounding the femme fatale also represent anxieties around women's desires and satisfaction. In her analysis of the femme fatale in film noir, Julie Grossman argues that "[i]t is the leading female's commitment to fulfilling her own desires, whatever they may be (sexual, capitalist, maternal), at any cost, that makes her the cynosure, the compelling point of interest for men and women" (Grossman 3). If, in the US, the domestic space is a potential site of feminine perversion, in Franco Spain, public and foreign women besmirched the sanctity of the domestic space, as any "true Catholic woman" would have found her fulfillment within the home.

In the following two chapters, I will show how the discourses of motherhood and domesticity were queered in Spain via the representations of foreign stars. I take Joan Crawford and Dolores del Río as foreign representations that queer the idealization of Spanish femininity by exposing the heterogeneity undergirding the monolithic ideologies of domesticity and motherhood. I base my argument on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's definition of "queer" as the "open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or *can't be* made) to signify monolithically" (Sedgwick 8). Sedgwick clarifies that queer is a fraught term that is not restricted to gender and sexuality, but which can also include other aspects of identity, such as race, class, nationality and ethnicity. In essence, to queer something is to illustrate how the hegemonic, monolithic understanding of that thing is not the only way that it exists in the world. Some of the "elements of gender and sexuality" that can signify monolithically are the concept of heterosexuality, or even the concept that sexuality results in children. If mothers exist because women have children, and if the domestic space exists as a social construct of a

space in which to care for children, then the lack of children implies a queer motherhood, and the lack of a domestic space a queer domesticity.

Queer domesticity subverts the understanding of the home as a site of ordered hierarchy or even refuge and constructs it as a site of performance—either of labor practices or of non-normative identities. Conceptions of the home have always run counter to conceptions of capitalistic labor production, with the home being praised as a site of rest, relaxation, and non-remunerative/non-productive labor in the form of women's work. The house itself is a subversive space (in DeCerteau's sense of space as "practiced place"), where the tactics involved in negotiating everyday life play out, sometimes in contrast to culturally prescribed norms. Though home and family usually collide in the domestic space, this is not the case in the discourse of queer domesticity, nor is it necessarily the case in the hegemonic discourse of motherhood in Western culture.

The hegemonic discourse of motherhood identifies the primary purpose of women as bearing children within a heterosexual, two-parent household. The discourse of motherhood is one of self-sacrifice and of subservience to the family unit, of which the man is the head. In post-World War II Western culture, this was true in Spain, the US and Latin America. Under the ideologies of Spanish fascism, however, this ideal family—one targeted by the regime's pronatalist policies that provided marriage loans and child subsidies to prolific families—fundamentally did not exist; as Julia Hudson-Richards remarks: "after three years of war, with several hundred thousand young men dead or injured during the war, and tens of thousands in prison and labor camps, who were these ideal wives and mothers supposed to marry?" (89). This question points to the gap that separates ideology and lived experience for women under patriarchal regimes, one bridged in a variety of ways.

Unmarried women under the Franco regime could become nuns or join the *Sección Femenina* as ways to enact regime-approved lifestyle choices outside of marriage. Too often, however, even married women "were forced to work", as Helen Graham argues, "to supplement starvation wages" (188). In addition, for the occupants of many Republican households, one or both parents were jailed or dead, and the children, when not housed in orphanages, lived with relatives or family friends. The typical household in 1940s Franco Spain—especially that of Republican and lower-class women—was discursively atypical, as women were the de facto heads of household, even if they were not economically or politically recognized as such. These groups were delegitimized under the Franco regime, but this marginalization does not make their existence any less important. If anything, the rhetorical gaps that female-led households created in the gender discourse of the regime allowed for understandings of queerness to flourish in the discursively atypical household.

This discursively atypical household is a queered version of domesticity; indeed, mothering without a male partner or raising non-biological children are two examples of what a sort of queer motherhood might look like. The queer mother, denied biological children from within her partner union, sees opportunities for care-giving through adoption, via teaching or elder-care, or even through the keeping of pets. The institutions established under the Franco regime to enforce these hegemonic discourses of femininity—primarily the *Sección Femenina*, but also the use of pre-existing nunneries as an avenue of feminine fulfillment, and the location of prisons as a site of lesbian relationships—also served as havens for queer women themselves. One does not have to view Pilar Primo de Rivera—the founder of the *Sección Femenina* and perpetual single woman—as a lesbian (she wasn't) in order to recognize her life as a queer version of the feminine values her organization espoused. Primo de Rivera's example may be nothing more than the exception that proves the rule of femininity as maternity in Franco Spain; nonetheless, it illustrates

the slippages in the discourse of motherhood promoted by the regime, revealing it to be a hegemonic discourse that masked non-traditional female identities.

Thus, analyzing how certain characteristics of Spanish femininity circulated in the star discourses of foreign actresses helps us to understand both the slippages within these hegemonic discourses and also the tactics used by Spanish women to navigate daily life under the regime. As foreigners, neither Crawford nor del Río could fully embody the idealized gender discourse governing women's behavior under the Franco regime, given that its enactment was reserved for Spanish women, like Aurora Bautista (mentioned in the Introduction). However, these two stars present their own unique justification for comparison, as both are among the few stars from the silent film era who successfully made the transition to sound cinema (Crawford by strenuously eliminating her South Texas accent, and del Río by acting in Mexican cinema, among a multitude of other reasons). In addition, both women's star discourses originated in the two decades before the Franco regime, and members of the Spanish press referenced the international renown that these women had forged through their work in silent and early sound cinema while reporting on their contemporaneous work.[15] Their prior fame haunted their star discourses in Franco Spain, as reporters judged their beauty, sex-appeal and seductive roles—like those of the femme fatale or the Dark Lady—harshly. Moreover, rumors of lesbianism followed both women throughout their careers and underscore the need for a queer reading of the representation of both women in Spain.

Though the Spanish press did not present either woman as a lesbian, exactly, the ways in which Crawford was coded as a "not-domestic mother" and del Río as a "domestic

[15] One gap in my research that I hope to address in future work is the construction of Dolores del Río's star discourse in Mexico and how it differed from that in Spain. I have tried to incorporate what I could from her star discourse in Mexico, but the argument of this part could be strengthened by more research in film magazines from Mexico.

not-mother" in Spain allow for a queer reading of their respective star discourses and help us understand the affects of nationalism circulating therein. In the analyses of the two stars featured in this part—Dolores del Río and Joan Crawford—I will trace how markers of Spanish femininity such as domesticity and motherhood, along with questions of the Spanish language, personal connections and physical presence within Spanish national territory function affectively to align both women with the objectives of the Franco regime, even as they more clearly align Spanish readers and viewers with del Río's figure over that of Crawford. I chose to focus on Crawford and del Río in this part because of the ways in which their most iconic roles illustrate similar but divergent models of motherhood that represent single and childless women nurturing in queer ways.

In Chapter 1, I will examine the ways that the Spanish media represented Dolores del Río in relation to domesticity and motherhood, paying particular attention to the subtle forms in which these authors connected her Mexican-ness to Spain's imperial legacy in Latin America. A comparative analysis of *María Candelaria* and *Señora ama* (the one film del Río made in Spain) will analyze how each film queers nationalist assumptions regarding motherhood, concluding with how the figure of Dolores del Río comes to embody an idealized (but no less queer) Spanish Catholic womanhood in *Señora ama*. In Chapter 2, I analyze Joan Crawford's publicity in Spain in relation to her role as a single working mother, strengthened via her portrayal of *Mildred Pierce*. These two chapters illustrate how symbols of *Hispanidad*, specifically the imperial perspective of Spain as "Mother of the Americas," the Spanish language and the space of the national territory work on and in the discourses of both stars. The twin ideologies of hegemonic domesticity and motherhood provide a fertile terrain to ultimately project the model of *Hispanidad* onto Latin American and reinforce it as not only morally upright, but also as the only way of "being-for-the-nation," even as they are queered. In the end, motherhood (even a queer

one) is the only way of "being-for-the-nation" available to women (even foreign women) under the Franco regime.

Chapter 1: Dolores del Río, or "Lolita" Returns

Dolores del Río's star discourse in Spain represents her as a child of the global Hispanic family, thus allowing her Spanish audience to continue embodying the role of imperial mother to Latin America. As a native Spanish speaker, del Río's foreignness drove her out of Hollywood after the arrival of sound technology. Colin Gunckel relates the structural and social changes in the 1930s, wrought in part by sound cinema and shifts towards a "racially coded All-Americanism in the 1930s that increasingly marginalized Latinos as actors and actresses" (90). Although del Río could have simply returned to Mexico and retired, she acquired newfound fame among Spanish-speaking filmgoers around the world when Emilio Fernández awarded her with the principal roles of *Flor silvestre* and *María Candelaria*. Ana López argues that upon del Río's return to Mexico, her star persona changed drastically, from one of sophisticated exoticism to one steeped in Mexican *indigenismo*:

> With some exceptions, from *Flor silvestre* in 1943 on, Del Río played essentially the same character: a humble and or quietly dignified indigenous and/or rural woman who suffers and must subordinate herself and her desires to a man and/or the nation. (109)

This embrace of *indigenismo* led international commentators to praise the version of del Río's star discourse emanating from Mexico as her authentic self. Spanish magazines, especially, reflect this sense of newfound glory, as del Río is a constant presence in their pages through the 1940s. If under the Franco regime, as Julia Tuñón argues, Mexican cinema was seen to be an extension of the values proposed by *Hispanidad* (173), then Dolores del Río's star discourse in Spain upholds *Hispanidad* by reinforcing the legacy of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. Consistent mentions of her work in Mexican cinema sustain this legacy as an ideal to be obtained, even as the ideological project of Classical

Mexican Cinema was the creation of a Mexican national identity fundamentally distinct from Spanish and US influences.

In this chapter, I will briefly summarize del Río's film career in Hollywood and Mexico so as to illustrate how the star discourse that originated in silent cinema served as the base upon which her international celebrity text was built. I'll next give a brief overview of Classical Mexican Cinema before I analyze *Flor silvestre* and *María Candelaria* in the context of del Río's participation in this nationalistic cinematic movement. From there, I move on to discuss how the Spanish censors approached these two films, as well as how the Spanish media portrayed these two films and constructed del Río's star discourse in Spain to reflect the imperialism of *Hispanidad*. Prior understandings of del Río's stardom aligned in Spain with European prestige, even as certain aspects of her star image—including images of her role in *The Fugitive* (1947)—emphasized her non-maternal domesticity.[16] Finally, I will examine del Río's Spanish film *Señora ama* (1955) in the context of queered motherhood. I will show how the ideological affinities fostered in del Río's star discourse in Spain allow her to embody the figure of an idealized Spanish mother.

When Dolores del Río and her husband, Jaime Martínez del Río, arrived in Hollywood in 1925, according to Paco Ignacio Taibo I, "los especialistas en publicidad decidieron que dado su físico y el poco prestigio de lo mexicano, lo adecuado era presentarla como una aristócrata española" ("Dolores del Río mujer en el volcán" 15). Though elevating her lineage would serve to make del Río an international star and help her to overcome certain forms of typecasting, it resulted in her playing the stereotyped "Dark Lady" roles. As Charles Ramirez Berg argues, the Dark Lady is the female version of the Latin lover: "virginal, inscrutable, aristocratic—and erotically appealing precisely

[16] Even though her character in *The Fugitive* has a son, the stills from the film used for publicity in Spain do not include him, even as they portray del Río using Marian imagery.

because of these characteristics" ("Latino Images in Film" 76). Or, as Taibo notes, "En aquellos días la obsesión de Hollywood se cifraba en encontrar a una mujer que tuviera las misteriosas características que habían convertido en ídolo a Rodolfo Valentino" ("Dolores del Río" 46). Though del Río was typecast in Hollywood, she was nonetheless able to carve out a distinct and successful career as an international Hispanic film star. This international stardom served her well once her roles in Hollywood disappeared.

In 1943, del Río would return to Mexico, and there, she would take advantage of her stardom and skills acquired in Hollywood to foster a second career for herself in Golden Age Mexican cinema, which flourished between the 1930s to 1950s. According to Elena Poniatowska, del Río was heavily criticized upon her return to Mexico, as many doubted her willingness or ability to integrate into the Mexican cinematic industry (25). Nonetheless, her Hollywood training served her well. Charles Ramirez Berg notes that many actors, directors and technicians involved in the creation of Golden Age Mexican films had worked in Hollywood and adopted Hollywood styles and modes of production, along with elements from Soviet cinema and German expressionism, in the creation of an autochthonous Mexican cinema ("Classical Mexican Cinema" 54-56). In addition, the US government's support of Mexican film production during World War II fostered the conditions that allowed for the Golden Age of Mexican Cinema to flourish during and immediately following the war (Fein "Myths" 164).

Though many Golden Age Mexican films took advantage of what their participants had learned in Hollywood, a certain subset of directors—primarily Emilio "El Indio" Fernández and Ismael Rodríguez—went one step further to use and repudiate Hollywood filmmaking forms as a way to craft authentically Mexican film fare. Ramirez Berg has termed this Classical Mexican Cinema, and he argues that "[t]he films that Emilio 'El Indio' Fernández (1904-1986) directed between 1943 and 1950 are the most explicit

disavowal of Hollywood during the Golden Age and Mexican cinema's purest, most successfully sustained realization of an authentically native film form" ("Classical Mexican Cinema" 91). Fernández's films—with their lush cinematography courtesy of Gabriel Figueroa, their technical precision in editing thanks to Gloria Schoemann, and their captivating plots crafted by screenwriter Mauricio Magdaleno and based in historical melodramas of the Mexican Revolution—contributed to the nationalist project of mythologizing the Revolution in service of the State. Ignacio Sánchez Prado, on the other hand, has argued that Golden Age Mexican cinema does not only reflect authentically Mexican archetypes and aesthetics, but also the global and cosmopolitan modernization processes that were occurring in Mexico at the time ("Golden Age Otherwise" 243-244). Fernández and his team were not the only filmmakers working in Mexican cinema at this time, and a selection of traditional genre fare competed with films from Hollywood and Europe to shape a robustly capitalist industry, box-office, and modernizing aesthetic.

Even if the Mexican public was not ready for del Río, the Mexican cinematic industry in 1943 was ripe for the return of one of the country's most famous international films stars, both in the number and quality of projects produced, and in the capacity to utilize and build on the glamorous star image that del Río had crafted while she was a part of Hollywood (even if only to use as a foil against which to contrast her noble indigenous characters). After Dolores del Río returned to Mexico, she maintained ties with Hollywood and participated in projects in Mexico, Argentina, Spain and the United States until her death in 1983 (Hall, "Images of Women and Power" 17). In this way, del Río's return to her home country was not one of stasis nor failure, but rather, a jumping-off point for a truly international film career in Spanish-speaking sound cinema.

That jumping-off point began with the first two films del Río made in Mexico, *Flor silvestre* (1943) and *María Candelaria* (1944). In *Flor silvestre*, del Río plays a peasant

woman, Esperanza, who marries a wealthy landowner's son, José Luis (Pedro Armendáriz), and suffers the consequences of crossing class lines during the Mexican Revolution. *María Candelaria* is the eponymous story of an indigenous woman (played by del Río) in Xochimilco just before the Mexican Revolution. María Candelaria is the daughter of a prostitute, shunned by her community as a result. Though she and her suitor, Lorenzo (Pedro Armendáriz) are honest and hardworking people, nothing in their life goes as planned. By portraying indigenous and rural Mexican women, del Río used her roles to approximate the lives of the majority of Mexican women at the time, many of whom "were but a generation removed from the 'peasant' girl del Río represented in *Flor silvestre* or the Indian maiden in *María Candelaria*," according to Joanne Hershfield ("Invention" 60)

Told in flashback, *Flor silvestre* presents us with an idealized domesticity that nonetheless is lost thanks to José Luis's death. Esperanza has raised their child alone as a widow, only telling the story of their union and her husband's death at the moment that she must send her son off to military school. This idealized domesticity crosses class lines (and presumably racial lines, given that whiteness in Mexico tends to be associated with wealth and indigeneity with peasantry) in the creation of the middle-class *mestizo* national identity supported by Mexico's "good" revolutionaries. Julianne Burton Carvajal has referred to *Flor silvestre* as a "foundational feature" (in the vein of Doris Sommer's classic term 'foundational fictions' to denote nineteenth-century Latin American nationalistic novels), arguing that it participates explicitly in the Mexican nation-building process by presenting a tale of the Mexican Revolution as a story of the genesis of the Mexican nation ("Mexican melodramas" 186-187).

If *Flor silvestre* presented the Mexican nation as being borne of the *mestizo* sons and daughters of the Revolution, then *María Candelaria* paints the nation's roots as originating in its indigenous population. Though Maria Candelaria and Lorenzo never have

children, the film presents us with the promise of domesticity in their union. Maria Candelaria cares for her hut and garden, and she even cares for Lorenzo when he is imprisoned. The promise of motherhood remains unfulfilled due to María Candelaria's death at the end of the film. Only the way that María Candelaria cares for and mourns the death of her pig, Marrana, indicates the film's potential to queer hegemonic motherhood, by focusing the maternal instinct onto the non-human.[17]

Much has been written about the conflict of representation of Dolores del Río—with her light skin and European features—portraying indigenous women.[18] These representations reinforced whiteness as a Mexican ideal, even as they worked to incorporate the indigenous community (at least its imagery and history, if not its people and ethnotype) into the nationalizing project of the Mexican state (Hershfield "Mexican Cinema" 53). In Spain, however, del Río's performance of indigeneity is praised for having uncovered her innate artistic talents:

> Fotográficamente no cabe mayor perfección; y lo mismo podemos decir en lo que se refiere a la interpretación de la pareja protagonista encarnada por la 'estrella' mejicana Dolores del Río, que al volver a actuar en su país parece haber recobrado nuevos bríos su temperamento y adquirido mayor riqueza de matices su depuradísimo arte; y Pedro Armendáriz, excelentísimo actor, sobrio y natural, cuya estupenda labor no desmerece en nada de la desarrollada por la actriz citada. (de Armenteras "María Candelaria" 13)

According to international commentators, del Río's acting is more energetic and nuanced as a result of her work in Spanish-language film in Mexico.

---

[17] According to Linda B. Hall, del Río abhorred carrying around the pig and the insects that swarmed its dead body attacked del Río with a vengeance ("Dolores del Río" 218). In contrast, Ana López remarks that the contrast between her star text of "society lady/all-powerful star" and the humble and abnegating roles that she played is the most disconcerting aspect of del Río's star discourse in Mexico.

[18] See Joanne Hershfield *The Invention of Dolores del Río*, and Aurelio de los Reyes, *Medio siglo de cine Mexicano,* among others.

The privileging of whiteness within the Mexican state is one of the more complex manifestations of the Spanish colonial legacy in Latin America. Part of the colonial legacy was a complicated racial hierarchy—denominated *castas*—that divided the American population into sixteen racial categories based on purity of lineage with respect to Spanish descent. I will develop this point further in Chapter 3, when I address the case of María Félix in Spain; suffice it to say that Spanish reporters under the Franco regime registered little if any understanding of the racialized hierarchy pertinent to the development of the Mexican nation-state. Given this history, the ways in which Spanish censors and Spanish reporters address Mexican cinema in their respective offices illuminates the tensions undergirding the use of *Hispanidad* as cultural diplomacy under the Franco regime.

We see the tension that surges in the appropriation of Mexican cinema under the auspices of *Hispanidad* in the edits that the Spanish censors called for in *Flor silvestre*. In addition to asking that the labor affiliations of those involved in the film be cut from the presentation (perhaps as a rejection of trade unions and other civic/labor organizations), the censors requested that three sentences be suppressed: 1) "La tierra es de quien la trabaja"; 2) "El mismo Dios metió la pata"; and 3) "Sobre ella se levanta el Méjico de hoy, en el que palpita una vida nueva" ("Expediente de censura: *Flor silvestre*"). Although *Flor silvestre* formed a part of a nationalizing project within Mexico of the 1940s, aspects of this more laic and proletarian identity were suppressed by the Spanish censors and thus made invisible to Spanish audiences, most likely because they posed an ideological threat to the economic structure of the regime (sentence 1), to the Catholic Church (sentence 2), and to the imperial legacy of *Hispanidad* (sentence 3).

Though the Spanish censors suppressed some aspects of Mexican national identity to try to facilitate *Flor silvestre*'s alignment with the discourse of *Hispanidad*, they did not alter much. Much the same occurred with *María Candelaria*. Though the censors' file at

the Archivo General de la Administración does not actually contain the censors' comments regarding *María Candelaria*, the taped copy of the video stored in the *Filmoteca Nacional* in Madrid appears to be the censored version due to its editing. The film demonstrates odd transitions in sound: music crescendos that cut out very suddenly (where in the original a slight decrescendo is present). Most notably, a single word, "troje" (instead of "traje"), was eliminated from the middle of one of Pedro Armendáriz's lines. Such a word would have been perceived in Spain as a bastardization of the true and eternal Spanish language, and for this reason cut entirely. However, *María Candelaria* was not dubbed (though some Mexican cultural products—like *La otra*, mentioned in the Introduction—were), supposedly because the language and customs were similar enough to those constructed by the regime that a few tweaks sufficed. Indeed, perceived cultural similarities (remnants of the imperial legacy) caused members of the board of censors to look on Mexican cinematic products with a favorable eye, further illustrating the attempts to culturally align Spain with Mexican cinema at this time period.

We see this orientation within the star discourse of Dolores del Río, as she is represented as an international star whose domestic life reflects the idealizations of Empire, thus affirming the Spanish legacy in Mexico. She then re-enacts this legacy in her own (projected and actual) visits to Spain, yet also subverts the expectations of women under *Hispanidad* in her work as an actress and in her childless state. If anything, the Marian imagery that dominated del Río's star discourse in the latter part of the 1940s and early 1950s in Spain (fostered by stills from *María Candelaria*, *The Fugitive* and *Señora ama*), reinforces understandings of her star image as that of a queered motherhood. Though Del Río's characters in these films are very maternal, none of them are ideal mothers. María Candelaria is stoned to death before she is able to bear children, María Dolores (*The Fugitive*) has given birth out of wedlock, and Dominica (*Señora ama*) finds herself

miraculously pregnant only at the end of the film. The use of Marian imagery in all three films only highlights the problematic conceptualizations of motherhood.

Motherhood (or lack thereof) is a prominent motif in *María Candelaria* (and in *Señora ama*, discussed later in the chapter). In *María Candelaria*, the protagonist is deeply affected by her own mother's reputation and is represented as a maternal figure in two key ways: the imagery surrounding her is like that of the Virgin Mary, and she treats her piglet, Marrana, as if it were a child. Indeed, the scenes in the film in which María Candelaria calls after Marrana imbue matronly care in her character, projecting onto María Candelaria qualities that allow the viewer to see her as a good mother in the vein of the Virgin Mary. According to Hall,

> The scenes [from *María Candelaria*] were strangely resonant with Christian images of the Mother and Child, Dolores as Mary, and the piglet as the Christ Child. In the story, the pig is killed by the wicked mestizo, Don Damián, and María Candelaria grieves over its dead body in a kind of Mexican pieta. ("Dolores del Río" 218)

Though María Candelaria is not a mother, she is nonetheless in the same category as mother, given her positionality as a woman; as Isabel Arredondo argues regarding Classical Mexican Cinema, "within the classical film discourse, to be a woman is to be a mother-to-be" (122). Arredondo goes on to claim that the only way a woman might approximate the ideal of the Virgin Mary is through death (126). In *María Candelaria*, del Río's character is aligned with not just any mother, but specifically represents a reincarnated Virgin Mary (and thus, the idealized 'true Catholic woman'), even though her star discourse queers this idealized femininity by representing her as a "domestic not-mother."

I refer to Dolores del Río's representation within Spanish magazines as that of a 'domestic not-mother' because of the ways in which motherhood remains as an unfulfilled signifier within her image, even as her house and home life reign. Dating from her Hollywood years, Dolores del Río's star discourse incorporated home as an extension of

work: yet another set on which to perform her life. Linda B. Hall notes that her first few homes in Hollywood were Mexican or Spanish adobe, creating from the latter what the LA Times labeled "an ideal setting for the Latin loveliness of Dolores del Río"—as if this bird of paradise could only thrive in a specific (Hispanic) environment—and further illustrating the elision of Mexican and Spanish (especially from the perspective of Hollywood) under the auspices of "Latin" (Hall "Dolores del Río" 71). Hall discusses the representation of the home in Del Río's star discourse as both a place of refuge and a site in which to perform a Hispanic identity: "During construction, Dolores brought workmen from Mexico to create special features such as a mosaic of the Virgin of Guadalupe created out of Talavera tile in the entryway. These touches helped her feel at home" ("Dolores del Río" 70). Such a statement illustrates an anxiety of authenticity—only Mexican workers could properly construct a tile mosaic of the Virgin of Guadalupe—while at the same time demonstrating how Del Río's domestic space helped to construct her star image in Hollywood as that of the elegant, exotic, Hispanic woman.

The home that del Río shared with her second husband, Hollywood set decorator Cedric Gibbons, reinforces how the domestic space operated as a site of performative labor in her Hollywood star discourse, as it "served as a kind of stage set on which to perform their marriage" (Hall "Dolores del Río" 156). In 1992, *Architectural Digest* ran a retrospective of houses from the same era, noting about the Gibbons-Del Río residence that "Every inch of the interior strikes a visitor as having been intended by Gibbons to serve as an act of homage to his flawless bride" (Gill 254). Hall goes on to call it "a striking background on which to display one of the most physically exquisite women in the world" and "A live-in version of the Big White Set" ("Dolores del Río" 156), alluding to the type of sparse and modern set design, made of white walls and minimal furnishings, that Gibbons was particularly known for. In Hollywood, Del Río's homes were yet another

stage on which to be a mute object, the foreign "other" visually consumed as a result of her exotic looks and manners. We continue to see elements of that domestic discourse in an article in *Cámara*, as her house serves the same function as a cinematic backdrop by representing the Spanish colonial legacy in Mexico as a sacred, domestic space.

One spread that *Cámara* ran of Dolores del Río at home shows how a specific legacy of Spanish architecture undergirded expectations of domesticity. The article "Ha vuelto Lolita del Río," mixes three stills from *The Fugitive* with two shots of her at home. The first shot, spanning the top third of the page, shows Dolores del Río standing on the patio of a mansion. The caption reads: "La magnificencia y el buen gusto imperan en el hogar de Dolores del Río. Rodeada de flores y árboles, está la casa que en su construcción responde al clásico rancho mejicano, dentro del más depurado estilo moderno" (Barrero "Ha vuelto" 27). Though labeled a "classic Mexican ranch," the architecture clearly evokes that of the Spanish Colonial style. The mansion—too big to capture with the camera—dwarfs del Río's figure, much in the way that a Hollywood sound stage dwarfs an individual actor, or the way that the Spanish colonial administration dominated the Mexican people. On the back of the house, *vigas* (beams) jut out from underneath a scalloped tile roof, and a saint's niche on the second-floor balcony cuts into overhanging ivy. Though the photo is in black-and-white, the roof is most likely made of red clay tiles, like those found on buildings throughout the Mediterranean. The balcony itself is upheld by three impressive stone balusters, which lend the house a formidable air and present a stark contrast to the delicate wrought-iron spindles seen on a side balcony on the right side of the frame. A close-up photo from the same shoot—showing del Río drinking tea on her patio—appears in a later issue of *Cámara*, this time describing her house as "Spanish style," thus completely eliding the Mexican nation with the Spanish colonial legacy of *Hispanidad* ("Dolores del Río" 35)

The second photo of del Río at home that accompanies the article shows her in a black dress and shawl, leaning against a bookshelf in what the caption labels her study. To her right, a framed portrait sits over a cupboard, with the face of the real Dolores del Río and that of the painted one posing at the same height. The caption states: "Lolita posa en un rincón de su estudio para los lectores de CAMARA, a quienes envía un cariñoso saludo con el anuncio de su próxima visita a España (Barrero, "Ha vuelto" 28). The caption playfully elaborates on a rumor that Del Río mentions in the interview, namely that she may travel to Spain to make a film under the direction of Roberto Gavaldón. From the rest of the interview, it is clear that her visit is uncertain, and the hint that she will star in a film in Spain is a veiled threat for Mexican studios, an attempt to encourage them to give her interesting parts:

> Ahora puedo adelantarle que tan pronto llegue Roberto Gavaldón celebraremos una serie de entrevistas, pues Bobby me trae de España un par de magníficas ofertas para actuar en los estudios hispanos… También quieren que vuelva a los estudios de Buenos Aires, y he de ir a Italia, donde me esperan con urgencia. Obligadamente tengo que volver a Hollywood, pues Michael Curtiz tiene un asunto que, según contrato, debe llevar mi visto bueno. Ofertas, no me faltan, pero… ¡Siento tanto tener que marcharme! Dentro de mis normas de no hacer más de dos películas por año, ¡qué no daría yo porque siquiera una de ellas fuera para el cine de mi queridísima patria! Pero no me han traído buenos asuntos…; no hemos encontrado una historia que valga la pena… Ojalá que este año me sea posible trabajar aquí, ya que deseo fervientemente hacer otra película en Méjico y que ésta sea ¡cuánto antes! (Barrero, "Ha vuelto" 28)

Del Río laments that she must leave Mexico to work in Argentina, Italy, Hollywood and possibly Spain, and in doing so, clearly reprimands Mexican studios for not sending her "good parts" that are "worth it." In these few sentences, del Río manages to publicize future roles in Argentinean, Italian, and North American cinema, while also leveraging her foreign opportunities to lobby the Mexican film industry to create better parts for her. The internecine politics of the Mexican cinematic industry and the publicity shenanigans go

overlooked in the caption mentioned earlier. The most salient feature of the interview for the reader of this Spanish magazine is that Dolores del Río will (possibly) visit Spain.

Dolores del Río visiting Spain reinforces the familial imperial legacy that the Franco regime's discourse of *Hispanidad* sought to promote. In the article "Dolores del Río quiere trabajar en España," del Río even states:

> También acabo de visitar diversos países hispanoamericanos, y he de reconocer que todos me parecen igual que Méjico: Argentina, Perú, Chile, Colombia. En cualquiera de estas naciones me encuentro como en mi propia casa. Como que son ramas del mismo tronco: ¡De España! (Losada 16).

Censorship meant that phrases were sometimes added to articles in Spanish newspapers and magazines, and it is unclear whether or not Dolores del Río actually stated the above quote or if portions of it were added later. Regardless, its existence demonstrates the ways in the Spanish press tried to fit Dolores del Río into conceptions of the nation. She feels at home anywhere in Latin America (and by extension, she would feel at home in Spain, too) because they are all part of the same Hispanic family.

One way in which we see this familial imperial relationship personified is in the use of a diminutive nickname, "Lolita" del Río to refer to her.[19] Using the nickname Lolita, instead of her given name, places her in an infantilized position with respect to a Spanish audience, humanizing her by fostering an affective alignment. Judith Butler elaborates on the affective reasoning behind the use of nicknames in an anecdote about the use of 'Judy' (instead of 'Judith') to address her, noting that: "There was a certain exasperation in the delivery of that final diminutive, a certain patronizing quality which (re)constituted me as an unruly child, one who needed to be brought to task, restored to that bodily being which

[19] Ana López refers to del Río as "Lolita" once in her article. This nickname clearly originated within her Mexican fandom and was intended to be the familiar way to refer to their most prominent international star. Mexicans calling her this does not seem to be as patronizing as Spaniards doing so. In a way, Spaniards using del Río's diminutive seems to reinforce the asymmetric relations that Mexican women have always had with Spain. Also, Nabokov ruined this nickname.

is, after all, considered to be most real, most pressing, most undeniable" (Butler ix-x). The nickname Lolita not only patronizes, but it also restores affect and embodiment. By referring to Dolores del Río as Lolita del Río, Spanish magazines adopt the diminutive that the Mexican public used for the Mexican star as their own, thus snapping her star discourse into further clarity for their Spanish readers.

"Lolita" del Río cannot hide behind the glamorous façade of Hollywood's immortal fame and is brought back down to earth and mere mortality by virtue of using her nickname. In fact, the article, "Ha vuelto Lolita del Río," argues that del Río's debut in Mexican cinema augmented the human dimension of her celebrity, as she converted herself from a star into a "gran actriz." One could argue that such a statement is only true because she had begun to receive more challenging acting roles, but it also has to do with the fact that the return so praised in this article is her return to stardom, this time in the Mexican cinematic industry, and thus a return to her native language. In fact, a review of *María Candelaria* in ¡*Hola*! notes that del Río, "que al volver a actuar en su país parece haber recobrado nuevos bríos su temperamento y adquirido mayor riqueza de matices su depuradísimo arte" (de Armenteras "María Candelaria" 13). Del Río becomes more human in Spain as she reasserts her likeness to Spaniards by embracing their shared language; however, this likeness aligns Spain and Mexico in a way that reasserts Spain's imperial legacy in Mexico for a Spanish audience.[20]

Even though del Río's Spanish language films were praised in Spain for reigniting her career and restoring her identity and skill, Mexican Spanish was not quite Spanish enough for the authorities of the Franco regime at one moment in time. In December 1948,

[20] López notes that French Critic George Sadoul similarly praised del Río's authenticity and artistic achievement in *María Candelaria*, but she argues that this is a result of how del Río's star image overpowered all her roles: "She does not act anymore; she simply is Dolores Del Río, la grande dame, the great face which after *Bugambilia* (Emilio Fernández, 1944) will be endowed with even more expressive eyes and extraordinarily mobile eyebrows" (110).

on the premiere of del Río's film, *La otra*, in Madrid, Antonio Barbero criticizes that the film had been dubbed in his review in *Cámara*:

> A nosotros nos gustó mucho 'La otra' cuando la vimos el pasado verano en su 'idioma original'; ahora nos ha gustado mucho menos en esta versión 'doblada al español'. Porque, como dijimos, comentando el estreno de esta copia en Barcelona, 'A nosotros nos encantan las buenas películas de la América española precisamente por los graciosos giros y localismos del lenguaje, que dan una inconfundible personalidad a sus producciones. Por eso nos parece absurdo el doblaje al español de una película mejicana. Como nos parecería absurdo el doblaje al 'mejicano'—si admitimos que exista este idioma extranjero—de una película española'. ("*La otra*" 8)

This film is an interesting case study, because it premiered in Spain in the Segundo Certamen Cinematográfico, and even won runner-up in Mexican cinema (Tuñón "Relaciones" 150). Thus, film critics and reporters had seen the original version at a highly publicized film festival, and yet the censors still required that it be dubbed into Castilian Spanish for wider release. El Espectador Marquerie pokes fun at the need for dubbing the film into Spanish, when in reality the film's dialogue is more disconcerting to the Spanish ear than a Mexican accent or colloquialism ("Dosis de ironía" 2).

In a sense, dubbing a Mexican film into Castilian Spanish seems to distance the two countries; Mexican Spanish is not close enough, is also foreign, and must be treated as such. Nonetheless, this act of dubbing also speaks to the imperial politics of the Spanish language that members of the Franco regime implemented. Though del Río spoke Spanish, the only acceptable form of Spanish under the regime was Castilian Spanish. Ergo, even when Dolores del Río is acting in Spanish-language movies, she is made to sound even more Spanish through dubbing.[21] Though del Río does not fit perfectly into the Spanish film industry, she is made to fit via this technique, and later, via co-productions.

[21] Given the importance of dubbing to the Spanish cinematic industry, I plan to conduct a deeper analysis of dubbing and cinematic translation when I convert this dissertation into a book.

Del Río had been treated in Hollywood as a foreign and exoticized other, and her star discourse in Spain reveals a similar tension when Spanish authors critique how Hollywood exploited her. Spanish authors who wrote about del Río often criticized Hollywood for reductionist stereotyping while they reduced Mexico to a signifier of the Spanish imperial legacy at the same time. The article "La Dolores del Río de ayer y la de hoy" in *Cámara* criticizes Hollywood specifically for having reduced del Río to the aesthetic type of the vamp: "Porque pronto se la clasificó con esa espantable afición yanqui a las clasificaciones—en la sección de vampiresas, y, salvo raras excepciones, sus cometidos cinematográficos tenían más de exhibiciones personales que de interpretaciones artísticas" (10). A woman working in the public sphere was anathema to the gender discourse under the Franco regime, however, the way that this article reduces actresses in Hollywood to vamps and actresses in Mexico to skilled artists seems excessive. In essence, del Río's transnational star discourse in Spain differentiated between good work for women in the public sphere and bad work for women in the public sphere. As long as del Río's work as an actress seemed to require demonstrable skill (and not just displaying her beautiful face and body), then a woman working was apparently acceptable.

Second, notice the aside in the above quote: "that horrid Yankee fondness for classifications". Horrid indicates disgust, and disgust contains rejection, specifically the thought of "badness" as an innate trait. As Sara Ahmed notes: "Disgust reads the objects that are felt to be disgusting: it is not just about bad objects that we are afraid to incorporate, but the very designation of 'badness' as a quality we assume is inherent in those objects" (*Cultural Politics* 82). Specifically, the disgust expressed is towards a certain hierarchy of knowledge: the "Yankee" desire to classify, to order the world, is disgusting. But it seems to be particularly disgusting because of the ways in which the Yankees supposedly err in

their classifications: they misclassify del Río as a vamp, thus causing an injustice to the Hispanic world as a whole.

Third, this article visually emphasizes the rupture in del Río's star discourse between her Hollywood and Mexican era, contrasting a very modest (no legs, no bust, just her face and arms peeking out of a diaphanous pile of silk) glamor shot of del Río reclining on a bed with a shot from *The Fugitive* with del Río seated, staring off-camera, head covered with a *rebozo* (traditional Mexican shawl), looking not unlike the Virgin Mary. Even though the two shots show approximately the same amount of skin, the "come-hither" posture of the first is emphasized by the caption: "La Dolores del Río de ayer, cuando no podía exhibir otros títulos en su favor que él de 'vampiresa hispanoamericana del cine yanqui'" ("La Dolores del Río de ayer" 10). The previous version of Dolores del Río was subject to Hollywood's standards, forced to portray the role of the "vamp" and not allowed to fully develop her acting talents as a result. In contrast, the second photo's caption emphasizes her newfound magnificence as an actress in Mexico, "La Dolores del Río de hoy, convertida en magnífica actriz, en una escena de 'El fugitivo', realización de John Ford, filmada en Méjico, con Henry Fonda, Pedro Armendáriz, J. Carrol Naish, Leo Carrillo, Ward Bond, Robert Armstrong y John Qualen al frente del reparto" ("La Dolores del Río de ayer" 11). This caption, combined with a Marian image of del Río, implies that female acting talent is based on proximity to virgin motherhood in Hispanic form. The irony is that *The Fugitive*, though filmed in Mexico, was still a Hollywood film. Nonetheless, in the Spanish press, it is del Río's return to Mexican cinema and the location of Mexico that 'converts' her into a magnificent actress, regardless of the film industry she appears in.

Finally, the author notes elsewhere in this same article that del Río's acting skills improved once she moved from Hollywood to Mexican cinema: "nadie se explicaba

aquella transformación tan repentina, porque el cambio, que geográficamente no había sido muy grande, era, en lo artístico, de una profundidad enorme" ("La Dolores del Río de ayer" 10). The author presents the geographic closeness of Mexico and Hollywood in contrast to a perceived artistic or even cultural distance, such as the difference between Anglo and Hispanic cultures—differences theorized by Max Weber in *The Protestant Ethic* and in the various iterations of the Black/White Legends.[22] Such a reflection hearkens back to Spain as the seat of Western culture, purveyor of civilization to the Americas, spiritual source of a permanent Hispanic community.

If anything, a comment like this seeks to show that Spain and Mexico are closer than Mexico and the US (spiritually and culturally, not geographically), and closer than the US and Spain (spiritually and culturally, not geographically), thus reinforcing the Spanish imperial legacy and the discourse of *Hispanidad* within the Americas as specifically related to and as strengthening ties with Latin America. By tying del Río's career in Mexican cinema to broader Hispanic artistry, this article reinforces the cultural imperialism of Francoist propaganda. In addition, del Río's second career portraying noble indigenous women onscreen most likely contributed to reinforcing the White Legend in Spain and the idea that Spanish conquest was not all bad. By resuscitating her career in Mexico, del Río

[22] Weber's *The Protestant Ethic* articulated an economic and religious criticism based on differences between the development of Northern and Southern European nation-states. Even before Weber's work, however, anti-Spanish propaganda had surged in the rest of Europe, thanks to the rapid growth and expansion of the Spanish Empire under the Catholic Kings (and their grandson, Charles V). This prejudice against Spain acquired the name of the Black Legend after the Empire had fallen, and as a result, *Hispanidad* came to incorporate an excessive focus on violence, hierarchy, and Catholicism as defined by the Inquisition. During the twentieth century, a White Legend surged in the country's historiography as a way to counter the excesses of the Black Legend, and to appropriate its criticisms as values to aspire to. Under the Franco regime, especially, historians were encouraged to exalt the work of the Spanish conquest in the Americas and downplay any negative effects of Spanish colonialism (Molina Martínez 11). In this way, the regime could adopt an imperialist mindset towards Latin America based on linguistic, cultural, and religious similarities, rather than on actual demonstrations of military might.

affirmed to Spanish commentators the artistic superiority of the Hispanic world over the capitalistic simplicity of Hollywood.

One of the ways in which the Franco regime sought to strengthen economic and cultural ties with Latin America can be found in the movement towards cinematic co-productions between the Spanish and Mexican film industries. Early co-productions, such as *Jalisco canta en Sevilla* (1948) or *Mare Nostrum* (1948), brought Jorge Negrete and María Félix to Spain in an attempt to open Latin American markets to Spanish film fare. Another *Cámara* article from 1948 proclaims in the title that "Dolores del Río quiere trabajar in España," though it clarifies that she had not set a date (Losada 16). Del Río had many friends in Spain and visited often; in June 1952, she stayed in Madrid to serve as the godmother for the baptism of one of Antonio Momplet's sons ("Dolores del Río, la famosa 'estrella'" 11).[23] However, visiting friends and staying in Spain to work are two different types of trips. Dolores del Río would not work in Spain until 1955, when she and Mexican director Julio Bracho traveled to the country to make *Señora ama*, a film adaptation of the Jacinto Benavente play of the same name.[24]

In *Señora ama*, del Río plays Dominica, the barren wife of an unfaithful husband, Feliciano (played by José Suárez). Dominica's infertility causes her husband's conspicuous infidelity and drives the plot of the film, but throughout, Dominica's domestic non-maternity shines—as she gives orders to the housemaids, serves Feliciano his meals, attends mass, plans her sister's wedding and tidies the house. Only in the two scenes where

[23] Antonio Momplet was a Spanish film director and screenwriter who escaped the Spanish Civil War and the early years of the Franco regime by working in Argentina and Mexico. He returned to Spain in 1952.
[24] Historians David Ramón and Linda B. Hall note that the working conditions on this co-production were not particularly smooth for Bracho and del Río, as it seemed that Spaniards resented them and created a hostile working environment (see Ramón *Dolores del Río, vol. 2* and Hall *Dolores del Río: Beauty in Light and Shade*). Though Bracho read this resentment as a lack of hospitality, I wonder if it was borne of a frustration with the loss of imperial power. The colonized had to come teach the colonizers how to make a film.

Dominica meets and then plays with her husband's bastard children do we see a hint of how well Dominica would mother. *Señora ama* culminates in Dominica's conception of a child, concluding with Feliciano swearing on his son's life to stay faithful to his wife. The Marian imagery that dominated del Río's star image in *María Candelaria* and *The Fugitive* reaches its peak in *Señora ama*, as Dominica—the angelic, barren wife—becomes pregnant as a result of much prayer and sacrifice. In a sense, the Virgin Mary can be seen as perhaps the queerest mother of all, or rather, millennia of doctrinal interpretation trying to contain the discursive mystery surrounding Mary as the mother of God have resulted in paradoxes like "immaculate conception" and "virgin motherhood" which can be read as queer.[25] Dolores del Río's participation in the Spanish film industry as a Marian character (complete with the requisite miraculous conception) concluded her alignment with 'true Catholic womanhood.' Working in Spain resolves the tension of the non-maternal domesticity inherent in Dolores del Río's star discourse by more clearly situating her as an idealized mother-to-be in Spain.

The spiritual and cultural proximity that cinematic co-productions between Spain and Latin America sought to reinforce ultimately worked to align Dolores del Río's non-maternal domesticity with the gender discourse of the Franco regime. Though del Río's Mexican Spanish may not have aligned perfectly with the Castilian Spanish favored by the regime, her star discourse in Spain sought to bridge the differences between Mexico and Spain via language, familial relationships, the history of the empire, and del Río's own voyages to Spain, where she had friends and where she worked in the creation of *Señora ama*. The ideological affinities fostered by del Río's star discourse in Spain are solidified in her role as an idealized (and saintly) Spanish housewife and future mother. In contrast,

[25] For more on queer theologies regarding the Virgin Mary, please consult Lisa Isherwood "Our Lady of Perpetual Succour: Mother of Phallic Fetishes? [Queering the Queen of Heaven]" and Tina Beattie "Queen of Heaven".

as we will see in the next chapter, Joan Crawford presented a compelling female role model for many Spanish women, even as her star discourse in Spain presented a different sort of queer domesticity, that of the "not-domestic mother."

Chapter 2: Joan Crawford, "Madre modelo" and "Censora ejemplar"

If Spain was represented as spiritually and culturally closer to Mexico at this moment in time, this does not mean that Hollywood was completely excluded from the Spanish press. As mentioned in the Introduction, Hollywood films served as part of the culture of escapism, distracting Spaniards from the harsh realities of everyday life in Spain. Hollywood actresses' lives were similarly popular, as Spanish women imitated their fashion and style (though not their lifestyle, as that was often far too scandalous to even report on in Spain, let alone imitate). If Dolores del Río represented the idealized Hispanic artistry of the White Legend, then Joan Crawford represented the Protestant work ethic that Max Weber so praised. Joan Crawford was one of the Hollywood stars whose hair and make-up was most frequently copied and who frequently appeared in the Spanish press. And yet, Crawford was also censored as being an "anti-Spanish" artist in areas controlled by Nationalist forces during the Civil War (see León Aguinaga *Sospechosos habituales* 78), and in the early years of the regime as well (see Llopis, 138-145).

According to a series of interviews surrounding film-going practices in Franco Spain, female Spanish viewers tended to like Joan Crawford because she played "la mujer mala" (Labanyi "Question" 1). Crawford was not the only Hollywood 'bad girl' to appear on Spanish screens, but her popularity stems from the fact that she primarily portrayed "mujeres malas" and that she did not tend to choose roles outside of this type.[26] Nevertheless, an examination of the film magazines of the time period shows that Spanish reporters focused less on her seductive roles and more on her private life as the single mother to four adopted children. The importance of motherhood to Crawford's star

[26] Accompanying is a selection of Crawford's films that appeared in Spain between 1940 and 1950 in Spain: *Today We Live* (1934 and re-screened in 1942), *I Live My Life* (1936 and rescreened in 1939), *No More Ladies* (1936 and re-screened in 1942), *Mildred Pierce* (1948), and *Possessed* (1950).

discourse in both the US and Spain illustrates a societal alignment of the value of motherhood and family on both sides of the Atlantic, even as her work as an actress undercuts notions of the role of women in the public sphere under the Franco regime. In addition, Crawford's star discourse presents a queer representation of motherhood that contrasts with the traditional family structure promoted under Franco. This chapter argues that the quotidian affective attachments forged by motherhood work to align Crawford's body and work with the expectations for women held by the regime, though these affective attachments cannot overcome the fundamentally foreign valence presented by her star discourse.

In this chapter, I will first analyze Crawford's star discourse and the archetype of the "All-American Girl" it was based on. I will next contrast this with the 'true Catholic woman' idealized under the Franco regime, paying special attention to how Crawford's role as a mother helped to unite the two archetypes. Then, I will close read Crawford's most famous (and queer) maternal role in *Mildred Pierce*, along with the Spanish censors' comments and edits of this film, to demonstrate how members of the regime confronted and tried to make sense of Crawford's non-domestic maternity, given the strict gender discourse of the Franco regime.[27] Finally, cultural commentators such as reporter Vic Rueda recognized Crawford's skill as an actress and her popularity in Spain, projecting the possibility that she would travel to the country or that the country would travel to her via the (imagined) international prestige of *Primer Plano*.

[27] This contrasts with her US star text, where a love of cleaning stands out. Though some aspects of domesticity are salient in Crawford's star image in Spain (such as knitting), her life as a working mother stands out more, especially surrounding the premiere of *Mildred Pierce*.

ALL-AMERICAN GIRL VS. TRUE CATHOLIC WOMAN

Even as Crawford was deeply popular in Spain, her celebrity image in the US was that of a star of unassailable proportions. Her sheer longevity in Hollywood—beginning the 1920s in silent cinema as Lucille LeSueur and successfully transitioning to sound—culminated in an Oscar in 1945 for her performance in *Mildred Pierce*. In addition, she is one of the prime targets of research in celebrity studies, though a gap remains in the literature as to how her star discourse—which spoke directly to the trials and tribulations of the twentieth-century American woman—was read and received abroad. In the introduction to *Heavenly Bodies*, Richard Dyer analyzes a portrait of Crawford (shot by Eve Arnold) to illustrate how the representation of stars in society is actually a compilation of images and representations that leads the viewer to question "Which is Joan Crawford, really?" (2). Dyer emphasizes her make-up—thick eyebrows and a streak of lip color—as creating the distinctive image that fans around the world would recognize as Joan Crawford. According to Jo Labanyi, Spanish women would then imitate these same features in their own make-up and style ("Cinema and Mediation" 21).

Crawford's popularity masks the fact that her star discourse and that of the "All-American Girl" on which it was based was a construction by the studio and society, respectively. Robert Allen notes that the star image created for Crawford by MGM in the 1920s was that of the "modern girl," sometimes simplified to that of the "flapper," a working-class girl trying to survive in the big city (551-552). And Robert Corber states that:

> from the beginning of her career as a contract player at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), Crawford had been promoted as a kind of female Horatio Alger, a fiercely ambitious, self-made woman who had overcome enormous obstacles, including a Dickensian childhood, to become one of Hollywood's most glamorous stars. (1)

In the US, the Horatio Alger-style narrative resonated deeply with an audience for whom pulling oneself up by the bootstraps was a point of national pride. In Spain, Crawford's glamour and star power resonated with audiences who dreamed of a different life, even as the way the Spanish press elevated her to royalty set her life completely apart from that of her Spanish fans (at least one article in *Primer Plano* refers to her as "Her Majesty" and "Film's First Lady"). Spanish women may have imitated Joan Crawford, but they could not fully identify with her.

Labanyi emphasizes that Joan Crawford's Spanish fan club was not confined to any one person (of the hundred or so that were interviewed as a part of her and her team's oral history of film-going in Franco Spain), but rather comprised a general impression of the place of the actress within the pantheon of memorable Hollywood stars of the era ("Question" 1). Her unquantifiable popularity within Spain indicates an auto-embodiment of the censorship apparatus; individuals concealed personal preferences so as to float under the radar, only to reveal them later in wisps and snippets of memory. It does not seem like Crawford's fans were forced to stay silent about their preferred star; rather, their admiration of her stemmed from a particularly subversive place within. Spanish women liked Crawford for playing "la mujer mala," perhaps specifically because admiring the more independent women that she portrayed could serve as a private rebellion against the

hegemonic discourse of "true Catholic womanhood." As a result, many of Crawford's Spanish admirers may have simply found it wise to keep their opinions to themselves.

The stereotype of the "All-American Girl" is not anathema to that of "true Catholic womanhood," but the two are rather at odds. The "All-American Girl" reinforces the typically Protestant stereotype of a hard work ethic, demonstrated by Crawford's artistic prolificness and longevity. Protestantism, however, was sacrilege in Catholic Spain.[28] In Crawford's star discourse in Spain, any religious difference is elided.[29] The All-American Girl is single or even divorced, whereas the "true Catholic woman" is married with children. But such tensions are at the heart of why stars are popular in the first place; as Robert Allen as stated:

> Stars do not reflect society in some magical but straightforward way; rather, they embody in their images certain paradoxes or contradictions inherent in the larger social formation. In the case of Crawford these contradictions involve notions of success and how it might be achieved, and expectations about women and their roles in society (560).

Crawford's popularity in Spain only highlights the tensions between the All-American Girl and True Catholic Womanhood and demonstrates that some Spanish women harbored dreams that lay outside of a traditional marriage and home life. In the above quote, Allen is referring to Crawford's star discourse specifically as it played out in the US; nonetheless, elements of the contradictions that Crawford embodied recur in Spain, always with an eye

---

[28] In fact, one of the principal reasons that President Truman gave for delaying recognition of the Franco regime was the persecution of Protestants (Byrnes 271).

[29] Religion does not appear much, if at all, in Crawford's star discourse in Spain, as articles about her focus on her love life, work life or children. Though Crawford represented a Protestant type, she had attended a Catholic school as a child, and she and Douglas Fairbanks got married at St. Malachy's Catholic Church in New York City, though this seems to be attributed less to any affinity with the church and more because this particular church was "beloved of actors because of its location in the theater district" (Spoto 64).

towards the fact that Crawford was foreign. Crawford's popularity in Spain reflects the paradoxes inherent in Spanish society under Franco: a desire for social mobility coupled with the recognition that such mobility did not exist, the simultaneous desire for Hollywood films and rejection of US cultural imperialism, and conflicting expectations about women in society (women as symbols of the nation's power, yet powerless themselves). It makes sense, then, that Crawford's star discourse would be popular in Spain, but perhaps with a little more distance; after all, Spanish women in the 1940s were not expected to be All-American. If anything, a prurient American heathen was the last thing they were supposed to be.

Given the regime's emphasis on motherhood as the only possible role for women, Crawford's responsibility as mother to four children was the aspect of her star discourse that held particular appeal to Spanish film magazines (regime-oriented or not).[30] It also happens to be the role most proximate to the lives of her female Spanish fans. According to the ideology of femininity propagated by the Franco regime, motherhood was a political and civic duty, encouraged and enforced by pronatalist policies such as the criminalization of abortion and contraception (Nash "Pronatalism" 168). And while the regime supported male breadwinners with family allowances to bolster their position as head of household, both pater- and materfamilias served to vertically integrate familial authority with that of

[30] Looking back on Crawford's life from today, we cannot analyze the role of motherhood in her star discourse without recognizing how perspectives towards her suitability as a mother shifted after the publication of *Mommie Dearest* by her eldest daughter Christina. In the 1940s, however, Crawford's decision to adopt four children served her star discourse well: she got to keep her figure and continue working, acquire children and earn press from their adoption and her perceived sacrifice, and present herself to the world as a mother both on and off-screen.

the State. In both the US and Spain, motherhood—particularly the image of a stern, but doting mother—made Crawford's star discourse even more relatable to her fans.

Richard DeCordova notes that the inclusion of film actors' children within their star discourse worked to normalize the lives of movie stars of early silent cinema and to convince their fans of the moral health and conventionality of their lives off-screen (DeCordova 107). Though DeCordova's objects of study are anterior to Crawford, the use of familial narratives to bolster a star's normalcy continued to be used by the studios in Hollywood's Golden Age for publicity and to avoid censure under the Hays Code. Crawford's stardom reiterated to her fans the image of successful womanhood in the form of motherhood, even if the roles she played did not reflect that same message, and even if the way in which she became a mother (via adoptions and while not married) did not mimic that of the ideal mother promoted by the Franco regime.

Though Crawford's popularity in Spain was predicated on her stereotypical role of the "independent" woman—signified in Spain as "la mujer mala"—her star image nevertheless emphasized motherhood and her role as a mother as it circulated in the Spanish press. *Fotógramas*, the Barcelona-based film weekly, published two excerpts regarding Crawford's private life in January and March of 1948 under the series "Por el ojo de la cerradura."[31] This series is a montage of photos, captions and short to medium length blurbs about the lives of movie stars, primarily in Hollywood but also from around the globe. These two segments functionally republish the same news in slightly different

[31] Being located in Barcelona allowed *Fotógramas* to be more independent and less regime-oriented than other film magazines of the time.

ways: they call Crawford an excellent mother for not allowing her children (specifically her eldest, Christina) to see her films. They praise Crawford as a model mother (*madre modelo*), whose restrictions arise from care and good discipline and whose self-control and censorship (one article uses *autocensura* and the other calls her a *censora ejemplar*) are pedagogically justified, given the inappropriateness of her stereotypical acting roles in the education and raising of young children. Many of her roles often serve as cautionary tales regarding the dangers of too much freedom; however, even these were viewed as suspect within Spain, especially if such freedom involved a rebellion against authority (as we will see in our discussion of *Mildred Pierce*).

By equating Crawford's skill as a mother with the exercise of censorship, *Fotógramas* positions Crawford as an ideal Spanish mother under the Franco regime. In Spain, especially, good motherhood equated to strong censorship and justified the nation's censorial apparatus. In fact, the regime used the ideology of family to reinforce a vertical hierarchy of loyalty owed to Family and Fatherland (Richards "Time" 77). In this way, deference toward the father as head of household mirrored that owed to Franco as the authoritarian head of state. The mother was expected to defer to the male authority figure, even as she served to structure familial education in the way that the censors configured cultural orientation under the regime.

If anything, the private life portrayed in Crawford's star discourse of the time presented her as an ideal mother whose actions reinforced familial hierarchy, even in spite of the queerness of her family. Crawford's discursively non-traditional family was perhaps more normal after the Spanish Civil War and World War II, as the deaths of so many men

left behind widows throughout Spain and the US. That said, the idealization of Crawford's family is undercut by its queer composition. The Crawford family in 1948 is entirely fabricated: the family name was an invention by the studio, there was no male head of household, as Crawford had no husband (having been divorced twice already), and all the children were adopted in spite of legal restrictions that barred single women from adopting children in California at the time. Though in *Mildred Pierce*, Crawford would play a perverse mother, in her star discourse, she played a functionally traditional but discursively non-traditional one.

In August 1948, *Fotógramas* published a photo of Crawford looking lovingly into her son, Christopher's, eyes, as Christina stands near to both ("Tierna despedida" 7). The image is meant to portray the idea of a happy family: a mother with her children, everyone dressed nicely, with Crawford holding an open box and bouquet of flowers (perhaps gifts, either for herself or the children). The caption states: "Joan Crawford se despide de sus hijos adoptivos, la pequeña Christiana (sic) y el todavía más diminuto Christopher, antes de embarcarse para pasar unas vacaciones en Honolulú" ("Tierna despedida" 7). The fact that Crawford is leaving her children while she embarks for a Hawaii vacation does not fit the model of motherly self-abnegation espoused by the traditional gender discourse of the Franco regime, wherein mothers ruled the domestic sphere and sacrificed their whole self for the well-being of their children and family.

Though the image aims to bolster the ideal of a stable and happy family unit, the photo and its caption contain just a touch of cognitive dissonance. The image presents Crawford's family and ways of mothering as ideal, even as the caption destabilizes the

expectations held of mothers under the Franco regime. In fact, this photo leaves the reader with some serious questions, namely, who watched the kids while their mother was away on vacation, given that they had no father? It seems that the reader is supposed to hold Crawford as a model mother, even as s/he infers that Crawford had help and recognizes that her resources far surpass those of regular people (Americans and Spaniards alike). However, this points to class differences in the idealization of motherhood, as Crawford could afford a nanny to watch her children while she worked or vacationed, a luxury that most single working mothers had to do without.

Spanish filmgoers understood that Hollywood was not a direct reflection of life in America, yet Hollywood films nevertheless opened a space for knowing that some freedoms, or at least something different from what they were experiencing, did exist. Crawford's foreignness allows both for the reading of her as "la mujer mala" and for her popularity as such. Even as motherhood aligns Crawford with the gender discourse of the Franco regime, reading her roles as "bad" reinforces the communal awareness of her as foreign. In spite of the fact that one level of her star text in Spain labels her a "model mother", there's no worry that Spanish audiences will read her as anything other than a foreigner, given this communal awareness of Crawford as "la mujer mala." If anything, different Spanish readings of Crawford seem to focus on distinct levels of star discourse. This division is marked by gender and class privilege. For instance, the women who claimed that Crawford was their preferred actress were most likely only paying attention to her star identity as it was constituted across a number of films. For these women, the intertextual aspects of Crawford's star text comprised by articles in film magazines most

likely did not factor into their understanding of her as a star. In contrast, those who wrote the articles that appeared in *Primer Plano*, *Fotógramas* and *Cámara* were generally men, and only those Spaniards with disposable income could afford to purchase magazines. The image presented in film magazines (and directed towards men) contradicts the identity forged through her filmic roles (primarily consumed by women). Nonetheless, these two levels of star discourse result in Crawford having queered the expectations for motherhood. By queering motherhood in roles such as *Mildred Pierce*, and by embodying a non-hegemonic discourse of motherhood in her private life, Crawford came to represent an imperfect motherhood, allowing for the creation of a fantasy space wherein the expectations for Spanish mothers might not have weighed so heavily. Perhaps Crawford was perceived (and appreciated) as "la mujer mala" in Spain as a result of her imperfect or atypical portrayals of motherhood, both in life and in art.

Perhaps Crawford's most renowned portrayal of a flawed mother is that of Mildred Pierce in the eponymous film. *Mildred Pierce* presented single working mothers as discursively problematic by formally structuring Mildred as guilty of her daughter's crime. *Mildred Pierce* can be categorized as a woman's film, or a member of the genre that "reminds women that they have a biological function related to their role as women" (Basinger 17). In the woman's film, the female heroine sacrifices meaningful heterosexual relationships in order to attain economic or sexual independence, only to realize that her happiness lies in a marriage with children (Haskell 159-161). According to Robert Allen, "by the mid-1930s, Joan Crawford had become identified with one cinematic genre, the woman's film, which drew from and reinforced her star-image" (557). The ending of the

woman's film genre reaffirms the 'happiness' of the audience's lived experience of being wives and mothers, and *Mildred Pierc*e, in particular, lays the fault for the unhappiness of the Pierce family on Mildred and her actions as a mother, as we will see next.

QUEERING MOTHERHOOD IN MILDRED PIERCE

The censorship and premiere of *Mildred Pierce* in Spain in 1948 offers us an opportunity to analyze how Spaniards under the Franco regime might have read Crawford's performance of queer motherhood. *Mildred Pierce* uses an elliptical plot structure framed by murder and confession to tell the tale of a housewife, Mildred Pierce (Joan Crawford) whose husband Bert abandons her due to her preferential treatment of their oldest daughter, Veda (Ann Blyth). Mildred sells pies, becomes a waitress and then a successful restauranteur, all with the ultimate objective of providing Veda her every last desire. Mildred marries a socially well-connected but bankrupt member of the Beragon family, Monte, a man of Spanish descent who describes his profession as the science of loafing "in a decorative and highly charming manner." Mildred and Veda argue, and Mildred decides she can no longer bankroll Veda and Monte's profligate spending. Veda seduces Monte, and when Monte tells Veda that he will never marry her, she shoots him.

Robert Corber has analyzed the role of Mildred Pierce through the queer lens of feminine masculinity, stating that "Mildred's aspirations emerge as a transgression of her identity as a wife and mother" (Corber 5). Corber elaborates that Mildred's queerness originates in a thinly veiled incestuous desire found in the novel on which the film was based; however, I am more interested in how her work in the public sphere—specifically

her aspirations for a better life for Veda and Kay and the sacrifices that she undertakes to achieve such a life—might have been read as a transgression of the hegemonic discourse of motherhood and female seclusion in the private sphere, especially in Spain. In Spain, the film's title was translated as *Alma en suplicio—Soul in Torment*—emphasizing Mildred's maternal anguish at having raised a 'bad' child and thus being a 'bad' mother. That said, the film was not read as a cautionary tale by the Spanish censors, who instead see it as a pernicious example of dangerous morality and request extensive cuts to eliminate the film's violence and challenges to parental authority. In addition, the Spanish press pays more attention to Crawford's Academy Award-winning performance in their critiques, rather than to any messages the film might contain, perhaps because the film appears to have lacked any message or sense whatsoever by the time the censors were finished making their cuts, as we will discuss later in this chapter.

In her nonconformity, Mildred Pierce represents a queer maternal figure that Spanish critics and filmgoers might have preferred over the representations of maternal abnegation that populated Spanish state-sponsored cinema. The censors, however, had different plans. Mildred's queerness—her transgression of the type of actions appropriate for women to undertake as wives and mothers—led the film to have serious difficulties being approved by the Spanish board of censors. In fact, censors banned the film four times before the importation company, CEPICSA (Compañía Española de Propaganda, Industria y Cinematografía, SA), finally provided enough edits so as to allow for its approval. Even then, the changes to the film were so noticeable that many reviews prevaricated their

critiques by noting that they had never seen the original version—a phrase Spanish critics rarely used, given the rules against mentioning censorship in the country.[32]

During the censorship process of *Mildred Pierce*, the film's strongest condemnation came from the representative of the Catholic Church, Padre Constancio de Aldeaseca, who ended his extensive critique with the statement, "se identifica con lo inmoral, con lo pernicioso y con lo antiespañol. Prohibido," signed with a big flourish of his pen. This embellishment reflects the obduracy of his opinion—conveying the strength of his disgust for the film not only in the act of prohibiting it, but also in the forcefulness with which he exercised his will. In Padre Constancio's objection to the film, the "pernicious" effects of familial relationships loom large, particularly the fact that in representing an American family, the film somehow threatens the Spanish familial structure:

> El ambiente de esta película, particularmente las relaciones matrimoniales, maternales y filiales de las mismas son típicamente americanos, o sea, opuestos por su despreocupación y frivolidad a nuestra tradicional y verdadera concepción del hogar y contrarios a los dictados de la moral eterna e indiscutibles. (*Expediente de censura: Mildred Pierce* 20)

In other words, the film is too American to serve the regime's aim of bolstering Spanish values.

Padre Constancio elides Catholic family values and Spanish national identity through his references to the "traditional and true conception of home life" and "the indisputable dictates of the eternal moral". In doing so, he reveals that questioning familial

[32] According to Jo Labanyi's analysis of Spanish state-sponsored censorship practices: "Most unprintable of all was mention of the existence of censorship" ("Censorship or Fear of Mass Culture" 209)

happiness was tantamount to threatening the stability of the Spanish state under the Franco regime. Such fears seem overly paranoid, as Spain does not figure in the film at all (though an observer might detect the ghost of the Black Legend in the decadent figure of Monte Beragon). Yet, the immorality presented therein somehow threatens Spain. In addition, according to Padre Constancio, *Mildred Pierce* can be read as automatically anti-Spanish not only because of its immorality and perniciousness, but also because it is an American film ("Typically American and therefore opposed to…our traditional and true conception of the home").

Given that the Franco regime set itself up as the leader of the one, true Spain, being anti-Spanish meant opposing the regime. Certainly, internal enemies, such as Republican sympathizers, could be counted among the anti-Spanish. But external enemies also existed; Communists were the primary target, though masons, Jews, liberals, and secularists were also deemed anti-Spanish (Marcilhacy 80). In addition, the anti-Spanish was also the anti-Catholic, given the power of the voice of the Church in the rejection of *Mildred Pierce*; Padre Constancio writes the longest and most articulate reasoning for rejecting the film, and some censors, such as Guillermo de Reyna, imitate his vocabulary and phrasing, focusing their critiques on the film's "immorality" or "pernicious exemplarity" (Expediente de censura: *Mildred Pierce*). Others simply pinpointed that the flaws of the film were too fundamentally North American and thus either a bad example for or completely foreign to the lives of ordinary Spaniards.[33] If *Mildred Pierce* was equated with

[33] Padre Constancio de Aldeaseca did actually note that amongst the dangers offered by the film were its portrayals of "divorcios, adulterios, incesto, rebeldías de la jovencita, que se escapa de casa, pega a su

anti-Spanishness, then Joan Crawford, by virtue of association, is also against the regime, given her portrayal of a (queered) working-class mother.

The censors' reasoning regarding the "American-ness" of *Mildred Pierce* justified extensive cuts and edits in order to make an American product coincide with the discourse of the Franco regime and its understanding of *Hispanidad*. In their third request for the censors' approval, CEPICSA write that they edited out Veda and Monte's relationship, as well as the scene where Veda slaps her mother:

> Desaparece por complete el adulterio y lo que creemos esa Comisión entendió por incesto, así como la bofetada de la hija a la madre. Naturalmente, ello nos obligó a modificar en gran parte los diálogos, llegando incluso a cambiar también aquellas partes—que no afectaban a fin de darle una modalidad más en consonancia con nuestro carácter. (Expediente Censura*: Mildred Pierce* 35)

Not only did CEPICSA modify the dialogues in order to lessen their violence, they try to sell the censors on the elimination of this violence as a way to make the film more Spanish, as if they recognized that a lack of violence was not enough to get the film approved. Rather, the changes had to illustrate a defense of and even preference for "Spanishness" as defined by the regime.

The censors' reasoning also justified extended changes that mutilated the original seemingly beyond all recognition. Even the censors themselves—in their third rejection of the film—complained about how different the dubbed Spanish version was from the original film. Guillermo de Reyna even claimed that the cuts had added two new defects to the film: making it even more confusing than it already was, and adding a grotesqueness

---

madre, le quita el marido y lo asesina," so perhaps the undertones of incest weren't as veiled as they may seem now, or perhaps Veda's affair with Monty was read as incest.

that revealed the extent of regime censorship (Expediente Censura: *Mildred Pierce* 70). He lambasted the dubbed version as a Frankenstein monster, comparing it to a crude "Un bigote para dos", a cinematic experiment conducted by Antonio Lara de Gavilán and Miguel Mihura (the creators of the satirical magazine *La Codorniz*), in which the two men used the images of an Austrian film, "Immortal Melodies", and composed a completely new script, with invented dialogue and completely new music, succeeding in converting a pirated Austrian film into a Spanish one purely through dubbing (Belinchón "bigote").

Though the censored version of *Mildred Pierce* no longer exists, this analogy helps us to understand just how drastic the changes were. For example, CEPICSA deleted all possible references to adultery, along with any mention of a relationship between Veda and Monte, and potentially of one between Monte and Mildred. In addition, they even eliminated the primary scene of conflict between Veda and her mother—when Veda slaps Mildred towards the end of the film—because it was too violent an example of teenage rebellion. This edit, in particular, suggests that the violence that most preoccupied censors was not the murder that structures the film, but rather, the challenge that Veda presents parental authority. Adolescent rebellion was deeply threatening to a regime where obedience to parental authority equaled obedience to the state. CEPICSA thus had to modify a vast majority of the film's dialogue, given that such cuts removed much of the narrative conflict driving the film's plot. In all, it took about a year for this film to be approved by the censors, and clearly, it was a difficult and enervating process for both the censorial board and the importation house; the censors continued to have to deal with a

film that they had already prohibited, and the importation house had to try to intuit the censors' objections to the film in order to recoup their money.

If the aims of the censorial mechanism under the Franco regime were to demonstrate a light touch, then the effort to screen *Mildred Pierce* in Spain undermines the viability of such a goal, as the attempt to eliminate the film's American-ness apparently resulted in an incomprehensible mess. In spite of the fact that print magazines were not supposed to mention the existence of censorship, Spanish film critics could not help themselves. The *Cámara* review ends with a comment in parenthesis, alluding to the fact that the film reviewed clearly had very little connection with the original: "Estamos juzgando la película que hemos visto en Madrid, porque desconocemos en absoluto la versión original de 'Mildred Pierce'" (Barbero "*Alma en suplicio*" 7).

Fotógramas' review of *Mildred Pierce* states of Crawford's role that her artistic maturity allows directors the opportunity to offer her "papeles maternales, dentro de una gama de sentimientos distinta y acaso más rica y más original de lo que le ofreció durante largo tiempo la invariable vena del entonces llamado 'sex-appeal'" ("*Alma en suplicio*" 20). Clearly, motherhood (specifically its representation onscreen) was more highly valued discursively under the regime than physical beauty, as maternal roles supposedly require a greater emotional investment and maturity on the part of the actress and thus demonstrate more sophisticated acting skills. *Cámara* echoes this sentiment,

> "Esta película es la famosa 'Mildred Pierce', que valió a Joan Crawford el premio de la Academia de Hollywood a la mejor actriz de la temporada 1944-1945. Recompensa que nos parece muy justa, porque nosotros siempre hemos creído que Joan Crawford ha sido una gran actriz, hasta cuando triunfaba en la pantalla, hace

> ya más de veinte años, exclusivamente por su belleza." (Barbero "*Alma en suplicio*" 7)

Both magazines reflect on her career trajectory from the 1920s on and view this role as her artistic peak, yet they do so smugly, with hindsight. After all, it is easy for Barbero to claim that he always thought Crawford was a great actress when the film he is seeing for the first time won her an award three years prior. In addition, this statement is probably written ironically, given the heavy censorship of the film, censorship which Barbero notes ruins most of the film's characters.

At its heart, *Mildred Pierce* is the story of an unhappy family, or rather, of what happens when an unhappy mother forces the happy family narrative to go awry. Mildred's unhappiness is rooted in the failure of the happiness script of suburbia and American consumerism, as she discovers that her aspirations for her children go beyond the material comforts that her husband (and later, her businesses) can provide. The lessons regarding the failure of American consumerism fall flat in autarkic Spain and are read as erroneous child-rearing, which perhaps contributes to the censors' inability to see beyond the film's immorality and "perniciousness."

The incestuous undertones that Corber references are glossed over in the original film, but nonetheless present in the preferential treatment which Mildred devotes on her eldest daughter, Veda: buying her expensive new dresses; paying for singing, dancing and piano lessons; even purchasing Veda a brand-new car when she turns sixteen. Or at least, they are present in the original, English-language version of the film; from information gleaned from the censors' files, the dubbed Spanish-language version apparently went to great lengths to alter the mother-daughter relationship portrayed in *Mildred Pierce*. Given that the Spanish censors request changes to the film that bring mother and daughter closer together, perhaps they did not notice the incestuous undertones of Mildred and Veda's

relationship. If so, it makes one wonder whether the version of Spanish motherhood idealized by the regime is actually the queer one.

As a cautionary tale, the film is actually a condemnation of the working mother—conflating the working mother as an overly indulgent mother—blaming Mildred for Monte's murder (Nelson 451-452). The film structures Mildred as guilty from the beginning; even when the narrative reveals that Mildred did not actually commit the murder, she is still shown to be responsible for her daughter's actions, for having raised a daughter who would murder. The film plants a red herring by insinuating Mildred's possible culpability for Monte's murder by framing the tale around her potential suicide. This plot structure reinforces the hegemonic discourse of traditional motherhood, as Mildred is punished for her inability to conform to the actions expected of maternal sacrifice (though one could read her work as a waitress and restaurant owner, and even her marriage to Beragon, as her own type of sacrifice). The sort of maternal sacrifice that Spanish audiences of the time were conditioned to expect was rather one of silence and inaction. A more normative (in Spain, at least) Mildred Pierce would have stayed married to Burt in spite of his unemployment and affair, suffering the humiliations of poverty and infidelity in silence.

VAMOS A VER A JOAN CRAWFORD EN MADRID:

The representation of motherhood in *Mildred Pierce* and the censored version that appeared in Spain demonstrates the complexity of maternal discourses on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as one extreme of the process that foreign films had to undergo in order to be viewed by Spanish audiences. Though Crawford's representation of a failed American mother augments her foreignness within Spain, the Spanish language and the

space of the national territory also work on and in her star discourse in Spain to tie her to the country. Motherhood works to tie Crawford to Spain and maternal queerness in *Mildred Pierce* works to set her apart, but other aspects of *Hispanidad* also influence her star discourse: namely, suppositions about her potential future presence in Spain and suggestions that Crawford can speak Spanish and enjoys doing so.

Unlike Dolores del Río, Joan Crawford does not seem to have had friends in Spain, nor to have visited the country as a tourist during the time period in question. Yet Spanish film magazines tried to tie her personally to the country in a variety of ways. *Primer Plano* publishes a blurb about Joan Crawford beating out Ana Mariscal on a script, as if the two competed in the same place for a role, when really Ana Mariscal simply contacted Somerset Maugham regarding the rights to his comedy *The Constant Wife* (23). *Cámara* links Crawford specifically to Madrid in a segment from 1950: "Vamos a ver a Joan Crawford en Madrid" (36). The short article goes on to state that Crawford herself would not actually be visiting the capital, but rather that another of her films, *Possessed* (*Amor que mata*), would be opening soon in the city. This sort of bait-and-switch headline exposes a desire to tie the actual Crawford (and not just her movies) geographically to Spain. Though Crawford never visited Spain, nor filmed anything there, the Spanish press reiterated similar connections by projecting the country as visiting (nay, conquering) her, through the figure of *Primer Plano*'s Hollywood reporter, Vick Rueda Grisolia.

In a two-page spread from 1949, Rueda Grisolia wrote a tribute to "Su majestad, Joan Crawford, primera dama del cine," in which he briefly highlights his friendship with her and recounts her biography.[34] A full-page photo shows him and Crawford holding open an issue of *Primer Plano*, and the accompanying caption states:

[34] Elements of this article would be republished later under the headline "Les voy a contar todo lo que sé sobre Joan Crawford," but with different pictures.

> *Primer Plano* conquista Hollywood: Nuestros lectores tienen hoy un motivo de especial satisfacción. Ni más ni menos que el que refleja esta fotografía. PRIMER PLANO se ha introducido en Hollywood. Ante esta fotografía de Joan Crawford, leyendo nuestra Revista en el 'set' de su última película, 'The Victim', ¿qué quieren que les digamos? Que compartimos un ustedes este pequeño triunfo alcanzado por PRIMER PLANO, cuyo prestigio internacional crece día a día. (Rueda Grisolia 13)

In this photo and caption, we see various aspects of the regime's cultural discourse at work. First, as the official film industry magazine in Spain most closely associated with the Falangist Party, *Primer Plano* demonstrated strong ties to the Franco regime. In addition, *all* magazine directors were state functionaries appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, who also retained the capacity to remove them from their posts (Sinova 48-49). In this way, all forms of the press became a projection of the state through their dispersion of state propaganda, and, as we see in the caption above, *Primer Plano* also became an extension of its readers. The magazine's success at infiltrating Hollywood amplifies the image of international influence that the regime tried to project. In addition, the photo clearly aims to bolster the regime's use of cultural capital as imperial expansion by participating in Hollywood and appropriating Hollywood images for their own propagandistic purposes. Yet the image and its caption reveal the emptiness of these aims, as *Primer Plano* does not even own the copyright over the photo it is using to perform this propaganda. Instead, Warner Bros. owns the photo, which is why you won't be seeing it reproduced here.

Secondly, this photo and caption represent Joan Crawford as a symbol of the otherness of Hollywood and thus, as something to be conquered. In posing her with *Primer Plano* captioned as having conquered Hollywood, Crawford becomes a metonym of Hollywood. The international battle of affective influence is personified in the relationship between Rueda, as representative of the Spanish press (and therefore regime), and whatever influence he might have been able to exercise over his friend, Joan Crawford. Thus, Crawford's star discourse becomes a conduit for the regime to project its power outside of

Spain, and for the magazine's reach within. Yet, this power is a purely visual endeavor, as any actual influence for the magazine in Hollywood would be measured according to number of issues sold or market share (of which *Primer Plano* very clearly had none, given that the article accompanying the photo states that Crawford was *given* a copy of the magazine for her private collection).

Finally, this photo and the accompanying article illustrate a mediated, affective solidarity between Spanish fans and the Hollywood stars they followed. The reporter, Vic Rueda Grisolia, serves as a metonym for the country as a whole, linking Spanish readers to Crawford by serving as their *enchufe*, or point of connection: "Si en España hay admiradores de esta gran actriz, me pueden escribir a mí y yo le entregaré la carta personalmente a Joan" (12). In addition, Crawford herself is represented as someone with whom they should want to relate, as she will respond to them personally in Spanish, given that according to Rueda, she speaks the language and "sé que ella misma les contestará, pues me cuenta que éste es el mejor ejercicio para su español" (12).[35] In this way, the Spanish language serves as a link that ties all Spanish-speaking peoples together, even to those who have acquired the language.

[35] I'm not sure that anyone could prove whether Joan Crawford did or did not speak or write Spanish. However, a glamour shot published on the cover of *Primer Plano* on February 26, 1950 is dedicated "To *Primer Plano* Gratefully Joan Crawford," in English ("Joan Crawfor (sic)" 1). It seems odd that Crawford would not have taken the opportunity to write in Spanish to a Spanish magazine, had she known the language.

Part Conclusions

The affective discourse coded by maternal relations sheds new light onto the hegemony of the imperial center. Given that Francoist propaganda routinely referenced Spain as the "Mother of the Americas" as a way of reinforcing imperialist nostalgia, it is worthwhile to contemplate how the discourse of motherhood privileged in Franco Spain (and reflected in the discourse towards the Americas) undermines the spiritual purity delineated by *Hispanidad*. Maternal qualities open the nation to the possibility of miscegenation—of impurities, of mixing, of *mestizaje*—all qualities that define being American (and I use American here in the broadest sense of the term, to define a person as being from the Americas, both North and South). If Spain is "Mother of the Americas," then that is not only as a result of the history of the Spanish Empire, but also because the space of the Americas—its products, people and thinking—came to bear influence on Spain.[36] Though this sort of affective influencing is ignored in Francoist propaganda (imperial nostalgia prefers to invent a more hegemonic past), the capacity to touch and be touched is nonetheless present in the ways in which motherhood, language and the space of the national territory worked to tie Crawford and del Río to Spain.

Given the extent to which censorship encouraged Spanish audiences to read between the lines, it is difficult to know exactly how Crawford's and del Río's star discourses were read and understood by regular citizens. In fact, Labanyi has noted that for those that her team interviewed, the stars were important, but not nearly as prominent in the minds of the interviewees as the stories and characters portrayed in foreign films (15-

[36] This happened in a variety of ways. Schoolchildren learn of the Columbian Exchange, where maize, potatoes and tomatoes (American crops) became staples of European agricultural and culinary life. Native Americans became subject to communicable diseases (and slavery) imported from Europe and suffered various forms of genocide. American words (*huracán*, *barbacoa*, *cochino*) influenced the Spanish language. Spanish architecture, religion and legal frameworks influenced lifestyles in the Americas.

16). Perhaps the stars were not as important because people could not afford the paratexts that supported star discourses. Labanyi notes that most of the interviewees claimed to have never purchased film magazines, although one woman did report that she had to repeatedly punish her daughter for stealing copies of film magazines from the dentist's office upstairs ("Question" 1). Nonetheless, star analysis contributes to understanding the ways in which the Franco regime consolidated power and conceptualized the Spanish state. The propagandistic symbols used to bolster the regime's ideology also worked to construct the discourses of foreign stars in Spain and to incorporate their figures as part of the Spanish nation-building process. Nowhere is this more evident than in the incorporation of Dolores del Río into the Spanish film industry as an icon of 'true Catholic womanhood' in *Señora Ama*. Even the figure of Joan Crawford—whose star discourse of the modern All-American girl is one of the most at odds with regime propaganda—participated in this project via symbols like the Spanish language and the imagery of conquest. The pride and nostalgia vested in such symbols circulated discursively in the official press, even as some Spaniards may have favored the aspects of a star persona that did not conform to regime ideology.

PART 2

ALMOST BRETHREN: RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE STAR IMAGES OF MARÍA FÉLIX AND RITA HAYWORTH

> "What should follow as critical practice, Barthes argued, is a neutrally inflected, imminent *pathos* or 'patho-logy' that would be an "inventory of shimmers, of nuances, of states, of changes (*pathé*)' as they gather into 'affectivity, sensibility, sentiment,' and come to serve as 'the passion for difference' (77)." Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth "An Inventory of Shimmers"

If Dolores del Río and Joan Crawford were two foreign women who represented certain aspects of the idealized femininity lauded under the Franco regime while at the same time queering others, then the two stars that I will analyze in the next two chapters—María Félix and Rita Hayworth—embodied questions of whiteness and race that permeated perceptions of foreigners under the period in question. As mentioned in the Introduction, the relationship between *Hispanidad* and conceptions of race is a particularly fraught one, in part because of the ways in which Spanishness itself has been considered both a part of and foreign to Europe and in part because of the ways in which intellectuals arguing for Spanish exceptionalism viewed *Hispanidad* and Spanishness in religious, not ethnic, terms.

In this part, I will delineate the history of Spanish peninsular racial thought processes that bolstered and were bolstered by the Franco regime, using the examples of the words *raza* and *casta*. I will then compare this to the discourses of race and hybridity that were happening in Mexico at the time, specifically as regarding the concepts of *mestizaje* and the cosmic race as proposed by José Vasconcelos in 1925. These ideas manifested themselves cinematically in figures such as Emilio "El Indio" Fernández" and in narratives that folded Mexico's indigenous populations into the state, as in *María*

Candelaria, *Río escondido*, and *Maclovia* (to name but a few examples). In contrast, Hollywood had its own history of racial codification, based in the United States' traditions of segregation and of incorporating certain types of European ancestry as "white," while exoticizing all other ethnic backgrounds in stereotyped ways. Understanding the racial expectations behind each cinematic environment helps us to appreciate the sorts of racialized narratives that developed around stars in each. In addition, it demonstrates how discourses of transnational stardom served to flatten star images and modify them according to the dominant societal narratives of the receiving country. Finally, the two chapters that comprise this part will address the star discourses of María Félix and Rita Hayworth respectively, paying special attention to the ways in which the different forms of hybridity that each woman represented played into or disturbed the dominant narratives regarding race and Spanish national identity under the Franco regime.

The connections between *Hispanidad* and race in twentieth-century Spain derive from medieval conceptions of autochthony and indigeneity to the Iberian Peninsula and its history of *convivencia* and Reconquest. Joshua Goode argues that early conceptions of racial discourses flourished in medieval and early modern Spain as policies implemented by the Catholic Kings created a "language of difference and inclusion intended to define who fit into—and who lived outside of—the walls of this new political entity" (22). Goode specifically traces the genealogy of the term *raza*, noting that it originated as a positive term to denote animal husbandry and the genetic characteristics of distinct breeds, morphing in the nineteenth century to denote character and national identity with the intent of including some and excluding others in the pursuit of a national ideal. Sara Ahmed notes

that love "reproduces the collective as ideal through producing a particular kind of subject whose allegiance to the ideal makes it an ideal in the first place" (*Cultural Politics* 139). I would like to focus on how racial inclusion and exclusion fostered a hierarchy that saw certain bodies as closer to the national ideal than others.

Franco himself posited a national racial ideal and hierarchy in his film, *Raza*.[37] *Raza* tells the story of a Spanish family from their father's death in the Navy during the War of 1898 through the Spanish Civil War. The opening credits scroll over still images of Columbus's voyages and the conquest of the Americas, as well as images of Spanish ports, such as Seville, who would have received and benefitted directly from American riches. In Franco's version, the Spanish race is one of seafaring military conquerors, and in his discussion of the film's title, Goode argue that "Franco believed that racial strength was based on mixture and hybridity—the fusion of peoples" (1). Yet, the lip service paid to racial fusion belies the fact that certain sorts of hybridity were more acceptable in Spain under the Franco regime than others. Specifically, the fusion that the Franco regime long idealized—that of Christians, Moors and Jews in Al-Andalus and the Reconquest—had occurred so long beforehand as to be functionally meaningless in a world where intermixing was no longer viewed in religious terms, but rather, through racial and ethnic terms. To put it another way, the only sort of miscegenation acceptable in Franco's Spain was that which had occurred long beforehand and fostered the conditions for the creation of pure Spanishness. The racial discourse under Franco privileged a historicized and

[37] The director of *Raza*, José Luis Saenz de Heredia, created the screenplay based on a semi-autobiographical novel written by Franco under the pseudonym of Jaime de Andrade.

mythologized fusion autochthonous to the Iberian Peninsula. This racial discourse was much less accepting of contemporary version of hybridity…only capable of rendering it in terms of conquest and thus creating hierarchies of race between Hispanics under the regime and those outside of it.

In fact, the Reconquest—the historic site of Spain's originary racial mixing—and the conquest of the Americas present a stark contrast in both the sort of military and political action undertaken and the racial discourse that justified each. That of the Reconquest flourished around that of equivalent yet opposing religious ideologies and resulted in religious conversion or exile in 1492, 1506 and 1609 (depending on whether one was a Jew, a Moor or a Morisco). The conquest of the Americas, on the other hand, followed the blueprint set by the conquest of the Canary Islands during the 1400s: oppression, enslavement and exploitation of natives, who were viewed as primitive peoples. Another facet of the colonial conquest was a reign of sexual terror marked by the raping of indigenous women and African slaves who had been brought to the Americas to work the haciendas. The racial hierarchy or *casta* system that resulted from the generations of children of such sexual unions (consensual and non) served as the basis for understandings of *mestizaje* and hybridity in Latin America. [38]

In the Introduction, I mentioned the ways in which the discourse of *Hispanidad* under the Franco regime could be understood as a racialized discourse of whiteness in

[38] An example of the influence of this system are the *casta* paintings, or elaborate vignettes of the sixteen different *castas* that existed in 17th and 18th century Spanish America and the Spanish Philippines. The divisions range from *criollo*, *mestizo*, *mulato* and *torna atrás*.

relation to the former colonial subjects in Latin America and Africa. As Goode has argued, the racial rhetoric of the Peninsula differed from that of the colonies, "where obvious physical differences in appearance did exist and conditioned the unfolding of racial ideas" (13). Even before the Franco regime fomented the creation of a cultural empire under the auspices of *Hispanidad*, Latin American intellectuals such as José Vasconcelos characterized the Spanish conquest in the Americas as that of a "whitening" of the continent. Vasconcelos' "La raza cósmica" argues that the *mestizaje* created by Spanish soldiers and Indian and African slaves spread Hispanic whiteness and forged a new race, the cosmic race. In this way, Spaniards "whitened" indigenous Americans and Africans, and it is this whiter, hybrid race of *criollos*, *mestizos* and *castizos* will rule the future, thanks to its racial complexity, according to Vasconcelos.

We see the privileging of *lo mestizo* in Mexican national identity formation in the poetics of Classical Mexican Cinema, films made primarily by Emilio "El Indio" Fernández and his crew, and starring Pedro Armendáriz, Dolores del Río or María Félix. For Fernández, "the roots of *lo mexicano* lay in Mexico's pre-Colombian past" (Herschfield *Mexican Cinema/Mexican Woman* 56). This authentically native film form took European-looking actresses such as Dolores del Río and María Félix and placed them in roles ranging from indigenous maidens to feisty bourgeois temptresses. The use of actresses whose looks conformed to more European standards of beauty to play indigenous women is certainly questionable and undercuts the meaning of *lo mestizo* within Mexico, as it pays lip-service to racial mixing, while justifying *mestizaje* for its capacity to "whiten" the nation.

The concepts of *mestizaje* and hybridity have long influenced critical thought in Latin America, reaching their peak in the late 1980s through 2000s with Néstor García-Canclini's *Culturas híbridas*, Jesús Martin-Barbero's *Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía: de los medios a las mediaciones* and Anibal Quijano's "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America." On the other hand, as Joshua Lund has argued, critical hybridity cannot divorce itself from the questions of race and biopolitics that undergird it (*Impure* xiii). Given these connections, Eurocentric racial discourses are fundamental to both understanding hybridity and to further deconstructing the impulse towards racial purity and mixing articulated in the discourse of *Hispanidad*. *Hispanidad* cannot divorce itself from the racial discourses and hierarchies that marked an individual's inclusion or exclusion within the Spanish Empire and nation, even when theorists like de Maeztu articulate it as forming a religious and spiritual communion, rather than a racial one. If anything, the confluence of Latin American theories of hybridity with the iterations of *Hispanidad* articulated in the early years of the Franco regime reveal the biopolitical and imperial foundations of *Hispanidad*. While Latin American nations grappled with the history of segregation and intermixing left to them by the Spanish empire, the Franco regime in Spain reinforced the political and ideological divisions within Spain via its own racial discourses, subsumed under *Hispanidad*.

In contrast, racial codification in Hollywood developed as a result of the particular histories of segregation and "othering" that occurred in the United States during the nineteenth century. This racial codification primarily developed around the country's division into white and black, even as other ethnicities (such as Chinese,

Mexican or Spanish) functioned discursively as exoticized "others." For example, an Hispanic identity in Hollywood—such as that of Dolores del Río or Rita Hayworth in her younger years—was not white enough for the US film industry at that time. For del Río and Hayworth, success in Hollywood came about first as a result of typecasting in exotic roles. As elaborated in Chapter 1, Del Río broke out of her stereotyping when she moved back to Mexico. As we will see in Chapter 4, Hayworth overcame her typecasting and landed starring roles by superficially eliminating her Hispanic heritage via electrolysis, hair dye and a name change. María Félix herself recognized that films in Hollywood would only offer her secondary roles in stereotyped "exotic" parts, she felt that portraying only "huehuenches" was a great injustice both to her and to Mexico (*María Félix: Todas mis guerras, Vol III* 48). Even in her European films, she continued to be typecast and "othered," as we will address in Chapter 3 with the films she created in Spain. So long as Félix filmed in Mexican cinema, her whiteness as a *criolla* was a given.

What constitutes "white" varies across cultural contexts, and the concept of hybridity is integral to understanding how whiteness shifts in the three cultural contexts that specifically concern this study: Spain, Mexico and the US. Richard Dyer has argued that "as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human norm" ("White" 1). In the national discourses put forth by Hollywood, Mexican and Spanish cinemas in the 1940s, a white identity serves as the unmarked norm, visually and aurally, even as the function of that whiteness within each national context differs

slightly.[39] In Spain, the focus on the distant past of the Reconquista as the site of Spanish hybridity through *convivencia*, along with contemporary Eurocentrism, has blinded Spanish intellectuals to other ways in which twentieth-century global mediatic flows created a hybrid culture in Spain that reached its apex in post-Transition art and media, such as the pastiche of Almodóvar's earlier films. This new Spanish hybridity originated in the cinema-going practices that were used as survival tools under the Franco regime. Even in spite of the purity that the Franco regime tried to promote, Spanish culture over the twentieth century came to comprise a sort of hybridity, as the markers of Spanishness fostered by the regime circulated across foreign bodies privileged by the regime. The privileging of whiteness presented as racial complexity would come to dominate racial discourses of nation-building in Mexico in the middle of the twentieth century, and it would also come to influence understandings of race in Spain at the same moment in time. In contrast, discourses of whiteness in the United States in the 1940s served to elide racial differences and, in Hollywood, create an unmarked racial identity that would come to represent a generic "American-ness."

This elision of race and ethnicity also occurs in discourses of transnational stardom, precisely because the process of nationalization to which a star discourse must expose itself is fundamentally a process of whitening. Transnational cinematic and star practices often serve to reinforce existing structures of imperialism, as Russel Meeuf and Raphael Raphael argue in the Introduction to their edited volume *Transnational Stardom:*

[39] I say aurally to recognize that whiteness is also a particular mode of discourse that includes certain types of accentuation and that could be controlled for cinematically through dubbing.

International Celebrity in Film and Popular Culture. Such is the case with Spain and Latin American cinema under the Franco regime, as Latin American stars participate in the Spanish film industry, but only insofar as their participation might improve the chances of Spanish films to succeed in Latin American markets. In this way, Jorge Negrete, María Félix and Dolores del Río create films in Spain from 1948 on, as opportunities for them in Mexican cinema begin to disappear due to lack of funding. In contrast, Rita Hayworth or even Ava Gardner (discussed in Chapter 6) are photographed wearing traditional Spanish flamenco dresses, highlighting the ways in which their whiteness was already accepted as approximating the ideals of feminine beauty under the Franco regime.

Eva Woods has argued that discussions of race under the Franco regime "had either been denied (we have no problem with race) or experienced through the fantasy windows of literature and film" (*White Gypsies* 1). But the denial of race that she illustrates was two-fold: both a recognition that racial differences had existed in Spain in the past (*convivencia*) and had been overcome, and a desire to claim a moral superiority by literally ignoring the continued existence of racial difference, in spite of policies that actively forced the assimilation of marginalized ethnic groups into the dominant culture. While Woods' argument makes the case for the racialization of internally marginalized groups in Spain, this part explores how the processes of racialization promoted by *Hispanidad* came to shape the representation of foreign stars within Spain as white or not-white in relation to their Hispanic heritage (with whiteness understood as being the idealized representation of a Spanish identity). Even as the timbre of their star discourse

in their native industries highlight their mixed ancestries, María Félix is "othered" in Spain because her *criolla* identity is not white enough, and Rita Hayworth is read as an idealized Spanish woman, in spite of the modifications she made to her hairline and coloring to make her appear whiter.

This part is comprised of two chapters. The first—Race and Nationalism in the Transnational Celebrity of María Félix—addresses the films that Félix made and the press discourse that surrounded her figure in Spain. It analyzes how the Spanish press and members of the country's cinematic industry tried to coopt her star discourse in order to give international legitimacy to the Franco regime, even as her figure continued to signify "otherness" in Spain. The second chapter—The Affective Shimmers of Heritage in Rita Hayworth's Star Discourse in Spain—addresses how the Spanish press circulated images and understandings of Hayworth as a "legitimate" Spaniard and prodigal daughter: rejecting and recovering her Spanish heritage through costumes, dance and language. Weaving through both chapters are specific understandings of *Hispanidad* as a version of whiteness and attempts to align the racialized understandings of *Hispanidad* with the whiteness projected by Hayworth's anglicized body, while subtly rejecting "othered" understandings of *Hispanidad* as represented by Félix's *criolla* body.

Chapter 3: Race and Nationalism in the Transnational Celebrity of María Félix

Spanish bullfighter Luis Miguel Dominguín waxed poetic regarding his sexual relationships with foreign stars, and his escapades with María Félix apparently resulted in a jaunty soundbite. Dominguín recounted his sexual relations with María Félix as follows: "Ella y yo revivimos en Madrid el romance de Hernán Cortés y la Malinche" (Taibo I *María Félix* 137). La Malinche, of course, was the indigenous woman who served as Cortés's interpreter, guide, mistress and confidante, and who Sandra Messinger Cypess has characterized as "the first woman of Mexican literature, … the first mother of the Mexican nation and the Mexican Eve, symbol of national betrayal" (2). María Félix did not betray anyone when she traveled to Spain and slept with Dominguín, but she nonetheless could not escape being stereotyped as another Malinche. In using a historical conquest as a metaphor for his own sexual conquests, Dominguín unwittingly demonstrates the ways in which Latin Americans functioned discursively under the Franco regime as colonized subjects.

I will begin this chapter by analyzing the star discourse of María Félix in Mexico until 1948, the year in which Félix's film *Enamorada* won the award of *Interés Nacional* in Spain and captured the attention of Spanish producer Cesáreo González. I will next analyze the discourse surrounding the censorship and reception of *Enamorada* in Spain, in light of the fact that this quintessentially Mexican film came to signify the particular Hispanic and National-Catholic ideals touted by the Franco regime. Upon Félix's arrival in Spain in April 1948, Spanish newspapers were quick to point out that her grandfather was Basque (De la Puerta 1).[40] Nonetheless, references to a Spanish grandfather cannot

[40] Just because the Spanish press said this at the time does not make it true. Paco Taibo I cites the official civil record of the state of Sonora—where Félix was born—when he claims: "La niña presentada tiene por abuelos por línea paterna al Sr. Fernando Félix, mayor de edad, ambos casados y originarios y vecinos del

overcome the ways in which the Spanish press continually "other" Félix by calling her "la actriz azteca," nor can it overcome the fact that the only roles that she portrays in Spanish cinema are also "othered." I then analyze the roles that Félix played in the four films that she made in Spain between 1948 and 1953—*Mare Nostrum*, *Una mujer cualquiera*, *La noche del sábado*, and *La corona negra*. Finally, I will address how these roles and other elements of her star discourse in Spain supported the representation of Félix as 'othered,' thanks to the juxtaposition of her figure with that of specific imperial imagery such as monuments and statues. Though imperial imagery helps to associate Félix with Spain, it only serves to associate her as a representation of the vestiges of a colonized subjectivity under the country's imperial legacy.

María Félix is one of the two most famous female stars of Mexican Golden Age cinema (the other being Dolores del Río). According to Mary Kay Vaughan, the "dangerous and alluring female sexuality" that Félix and del Río represented to Mexicans under the Cárdenas regime (1934-1940) softened under Ávila Camacho (1940-1946), as Classical Mexican Cinema embraced popular cultural idols and as the media representations of glamorous movie stars "dwarfed the public images of politicians and labor leaders" (476). According to John Mraz, "Félix was one of Golden Age culture's greatest celebrities; her physical beauty and personal life were a fetish of the era" (148). Félix's imperious performances as strong-willed and independent women took advantage of her powerful stage presence and physical beauty to overcome her typecasting as a vamp and her limited dramatic range (Mraz 149). The vehicle that cemented her status as a star,

---

Quiriego; por línea maternal al Sr. Amado Güereña y la señora su esposa Marcela Rosas, ambos mayores de edad y actualmente con residencia en esta población" (*María Félix* 9). Perhaps Amado Güereña or Marcela Rosas or even members of an earlier generation were from Spain, but this would require a deeper genealogical research than that which I have found up to now.

Doña Bárbara, took an icon of Venezuelan whiteness and strong womanhood and internationalized it in the Mexican cinematic tradition.

Though Félix herself would most likely be considered a *criolla* in the hierarchy of Mexican racialization, her own star discourse is murky on her familial origins. Other biographers have claimed that her grandparents were Yaqui caciques on one side and Spanish nobles on the other, and we see the perpetuation of this familial ancestry even today in fan biographies dedicated to her life (Taibo I *María Félix* 9). The truth of whether Félix had direct Indian and Spanish ancestry (and thus a more *mestizo* heritage) is not nearly as relevant as the fact that her star sign insinuated an ambiguous origin for Félix that made it possible to know her as *criolla* but read her as an example of the *mestizaje* that made Mexico unique. According to biographer Paco Taibo I, Félix herself propagated a certain ambiguity over her birth. I would posit that this uncertainty allowed her star sign within Mexico to be imbued with representations of *mestizaje*, one of the defining aspects of *lo mexicano*. After all, in spite of her own *criolla* identity, Félix brought to life indigenous, *mestiza* and *criolla* characters alike (in *Maclovia*, *Río escondido* and *Enamorada*, respectively) over the course of the 1940s. Félix's representation of an indigenous princess in *Maclovia* is often criticized for whitening indigenous lives for a broad audience; at the same time, her performance bestowed a human dignity upon her character that was missing from indigenous representations and experiences in other national American cinemas, such as Hollywood.

Félix's star discourse in Mexico is intimately tied in with the nation-building project of Golden Age Mexican cinema, given her participation in films such as *Río escondido* and *Enamorada*, which contributed to mythologizing the revolutionary origins of the Mexican state and to incorporating rural and indigenous populations into the national consciousness. When I talk about the creation of Mexican national identity in the cinema,

I specifically refer to the processes of storytelling that circulate affects and coalesce individuals into the "imagined community" of the nation, as elaborated by Benedict Anderson. This process of national storytelling was especially salient in Mexican cinema in the 1940s, as the country grappled with the legacy of the Revolution and the assertion of a *mestizo* culture that blended a nostalgic praise for Mexico's indigenous roots with the legacy of Spanish imperialism. Though this *mestizaje* was inherently ambiguous (as praise for indigenous traditions did not actually improve the lives of Mexican Indians in their relations with the state or society), it nonetheless posited a distinct identity as regards the influence of both the former Spanish empire and US economic imperialism.

The phrase "Golden Age Mexican cinema" encompasses a wide variety of cinematic production practices that included US support for Mexican film production and distribution (which peaked during the Second World War) and talent fostered in Hollywood (Buñuel, Fernández, Figueroa, and others), along with the emergence of a star system bolstered by figures such as del Río, Félix, Pedro Armendáriz and Pedro Infante (Mora 73-75). Charles Ramirez Berg has argued that the exceptional aesthetics of certain Golden Age films set them apart as members of Classical Mexican Cinema (*Classical Mexican Cinema* 8-9). As Seth Fein and Ignacio Sánchez Prado have argued, however, the national identity projected in Golden Age Mexican cinema was part of a project of internationalization and positioning within global capitalism (see Fein "Myths" and Sánchez Prado "The Golden Age Otherwise"). That the stories told in Golden Age Mexican cinema were specific to the country's recent military and historical development only serve to illuminate the international aims of a national cinematic project. In this way, films such as *Enamorada* (Fernández) or ¡*Vámonos con Pancho Villa*! (de Fuentes) reflect on the Mexican Revolution, *Río escondido* (Fernández) on the consolidation of the post-

Revolution nation-state, and *Los olvidados* (Buñuel) on the country's entry into capitalist modernity, to name but a few of the more famous films of this era.

Let's take *Enamorada* as an example. *Enamorada* tells the story of Beatriz Peñafiel, the daughter of a wealthy landowner in Puebla, México, whose properties are being confiscated by a revolutionary leader, José Juan, to fuel the Zapatista uprising in Cholula during the Mexican Revolution. Joanne Hershfield calls *Enamorada* a Mexican *Taming of the Shrew*, or "the taming of a masculinized modern woman" (*Mexican Cinema/Mexican Woman* 45). And Charles Ramirez Berg argues that Fernández's "cinematic kleptomania" did not necessarily function as homage, nor even as plagiarism. Rather, with the help of his team (cinematographer Gabriel Figueroa, screenwriter Mauricio Magdaleno and editor Gloria Schoemann), "they transformed the source, placed it in the Mexican context, made crucial modifications and additions, and somehow managed to stay true to Fernández's goal of making a uniquely Mexican cinema" (125). However, I propose that *Enamorada* is actually closer to Cuento XLIV, or "What happened to a young man on his wedding day," from *The Tales of Count Lucanor*, given that it lacks any extraneous plot elements (such as the secondary love story between Hortensio and Bianca) and is a far more pared-down tale than *The Taming of the Shrew*.

In 1948, *Enamorada* received the designation of *Interés Nacional*—Spain's highest cinematic honor. *Interés Nacional* was a highly political film category and award that the Franco regime had established so as to single out films that specifically upheld the values of National-Catholicism (Triana Toribio 55). A film designated as *Interés Nacional* would receive preferential exhibition times, immediate national publicity, and the maximum number of importation and dubbing licenses for the production company in charge of its release (Gubern and Font 340). *Interés Nacional* also served to reinforce Franco propaganda and create a film canon for the regime that both promoted its values while also

developing a cinematic aesthetic that bolstered the regime's own. The politics surrounding the award's designation ensured that many aesthetically interesting films (such as *Bienvenido Mr. Marshall*, *Muerte de un ciclista*, and *Surcos*, among others) did not receive it despite their recognition outside the country. Similarly, some films with purely propagandistic aims did not receive *Interés Nacional*, even in spite of intense campaigns to ensure their selection (like *Mare Nostrum*, discussed later in this chapter). Though *Interés Nacional* aimed at joining two disparate aspects of filmmaking (aesthetics and propaganda), the true goal of the award was to foment the production of an autochthonous Spanish cinema.

For *Enamorada* to be awarded the honor of *Interés Nacional*, the Spanish censors had to agree that the film was in the interest of Spanish nation formation. Núria Triana Toribio claims that all films considered "had to be produced in Spain and a substantial part of the cast and technical personnel had to be Spanish nationals" (55); however, as we can see with *Enamorada*, this was not always the case. In fact, the law establishing the award of *Interés Nacional* dictated that a foreign film may be awarded the prize if it contained "a juicio de la Sección de Cinematografía y Teatro y de la Comisión Nacional de Censura Cinematográfica, valores artísticos, técnicos o políticos, de carácter excepcional dentro de las inspiraciones del Estado" (Gubern and Font 341). All of the Spanish censors praised *Enamorada* as an extraordinary film of true artistry and technical perfection (using adjectives like *extraordinaria*, *soberbio*, *hermosa*, *espléndida*, *sensacional*, and my personal favorite ¡*kolosal*!). Some of the censors focused more specifically on cinematic technique (lighting, scenography, music), with Don Gustavo Navarro emphasizing that Spanish producers could learn a lot by imitating Fernández's work (*Expediente de*

Censura: Enamorada).[41] The film's highest praise came from Falangist Don David Jato, whose commentary perhaps best illuminates the technical, artistic and political values that many of the censors saw in this film: "Película falangista. Muy poco en convivencia con la política de nuestros políticos. Antiburguesa. Revolucionaria. Tenemos que conseguir este cine o desistir" (*Expediente de censura: Enamorada*), implying that Spain's own filmmakers would do well to copy such revolutionary film politics and aesthetics to create a uniquely Spanish cinema.

That *Enamorada* won the distinction of *Interés Nacional* is a bit surprising at first glance, given that the film glorifies the Mexican Revolution and criticizes the landed bourgeoisie who had opposed it. In this regard, the film seems to project a sort of anti-Spanish imperialism that would not have been welcome under the Franco regime. As Herrero-Olaizola remarks regarding the censorship of the Latin American boom: "the censors did not tolerate any criticism of Spain's past or present history" (xiv). Perhaps since the Mexican Revolution occurred almost a century after Mexico's independence from Spain, the politics of the Revolution could be divorced (in Spain) from the colonial legacy of the Spanish Empire. Moreover, *Enamorada* tells the tale of the Zapatista uprising—of peasants struggling against their wealthy landowners for land reform—but in Spain, the character of José Juan is read as that of a revolutionary general whose ideology of militarism coincides with that of the Falange. Given that the Franco regime resulted from a military uprising, it appears that the censors drew this connection between the two revolts.

For a foreign film like *Enamorada* to receive the designation of *Interés Nacional*, it had to serve multiple purposes. In this case, the status of *Interés Nacional* served to

[41] Though not mentioned, the similarity to the canonically Spanish tale "Lo que sucedió a un mancebo que casó con una muchacha muy rebelde" may have contributed to the censors' decision, given that films based on other masterworks of Spanish literature (*Fuenteovejuna* and *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, among others) had also been named of *Interés Nacional* during this period.

indicate a film that the Spanish industry should take as a model, and looking back from today, it illuminated how foreign films were manipulated in order to further solidify the place of National-Catholic values in Spanish society. The censors' praise for *Enamorada* went beyond a simple desire for imitation; rather, it pointed to the ways in which the aesthetics of *Enamorada* might have been coopted to reinforce the Franco regime. The Reverend Padre Antonio Garau wrote: "Película extraordinaria bajo todos los conceptos, en la se salvan dignamente los escollos. Me siento envidia al contemplarla porque la quisiera … ¡española!" (*Expediente de censura: Enamorada*). His comment acknowledges *Enamorada* as a foreign film, even as the censors' decision to award it the recognition of Interés Nacional marked the regime's highest approval of the film for a Spanish audience and incorporated *Enamorada*'s message and aesthetic into the National-Catholic imaginary. As film scholar Julia Tuñón notes, a film that received the designation of *Interés Nacional* "se lograba por 'la exaltación de valores raciales o enseñanzas de nuestros principios morales y políticos, al tiempo que alcancen una riqueza técnica y artística evidentes'" ("Cine e hispanismo" 172).

Perhaps one of the most notable qualities of *Enamorada* was María Félix's imperious performance as Beatriz Peñafiel, a performance that Spanish producer Cesáreo González (whose Suevia Films distributed *Enamorada* in Spain) would seek to have her copy in four productions made by Suevia Films between 1948-1952. As Peñafiel, Félix achieves a representation of a Mexican femininity that, while exalting submission to man and the state, nonetheless projects a strident defiance in the face of adversity. Félix's Peñafiel slaps and insults Armendáriz's José Juan, evades his pursuit by launching a firecracker at his horse, and generally defies expectations for a restrained upper-class woman. Only at the end, when Peñafiel abandons her father and fiancé to follow José Juan proudly into battle, do we see her submit to a patriarchal order. As Jean Franco has stated,

Enamorada "shows how militant conservative women can be won over by a post-revolutionary regime that has left the violent past behind" (Franco *Plotting Women* 149).

That Félix's performance in *Enamorada* served to convince González to hire Félix to film in Spain illustrates that the signals got crossed as to what María Félix's stardom signified somewhere across the Atlantic. González hiring Félix suggests that a Mexican film star could fit into the Spanish film system at a time when many members of the Spanish film industry had already decided that the only way that Spain would acquire a star system was by importing stars from abroad. Nonetheless, Félix's star discourse in Spain is "othered" in a way that constantly reaffirms the imperial/colonial mindset that the Franco regime asserted culturally over Latin America via the discourse of *Hispanidad*. Rather than representing the defiant independence of a post-colonial nation, María Félix's star discourse in Spain serves to reinscribe Spanish cultural hegemony over Latin American bodies.

Félix traveled to Spain in 1948 to fulfill a ten-film contract that she had signed with Spanish producer Cesáreo González (Tuñón "Relaciones de celuloide" 133).[42] These films (created in the Spanish, Italian, Argentinean and French film industries from 1948-1955) served to cement her as an international star of the highest order. Though her posthumous reputation is primarily that of a Mexican film star, her work outside of Mexico broke ground and continues to receive accolades. *French Can Can*, directed by Jean Renoir, is the most critically acclaimed of Félix's films made abroad, and *Messalina* was the most expensive film made in Italy at the time. However, the films that Félix made in Spain all

[42] There are some discrepancies in the academic work surrounding María Félix's contract in Spain: Julia Tuñón says ten ("Relaciones de celuloide" 133), Dapena says three (124), and Gómez Tello says ten ("María Félix, entrevistada en automóvil" 6-7). I went with ten because that was what was reported at the time, and because Félix made at least four films solely in Spain: *Mare Nostrum*, *Una mujer cualquiera*, *La noche del sábado*, and *La corona negra*, along with co-productions in Italy, Mexico and Argentina that might have completed a ten-picture deal during the time frame.

highlight the problematic conceptualization of transnational cinema and stardom across the Spanish-speaking world.

González had a particular plan for the Spanish films that Félix starred in. He claimed that having María Félix's presence in a Spanish film would "abrir grandes perspectivas a la explotación de la película, facilitando con ello la difusión del cine español en el mercado que España debe ganar para su industria cinematográfica [AKA: Latin America]" (Expediente de censura: *Mare Nostrum*). Though the Spanish film industry of the 1940s was beginning to develop a star system of its own, according the González, the presence of a star "de prestigio universal y sobre todo, de una popularidad sin límites en toda la América Latina" would bolster the quality of Spanish productions (Expediente de censura: *Mare Nostrum*). In fact, González was remarkably clear about his intention to use Félix's star status to elevate the reputation of Spanish cinema both nationally and internationally, and to do so in ways that would also rehabilitate the reputation of the Franco regime (and Spain) abroad.

If María Félix was going to represent Spanish cinema globally, then her star sign had to be resignified so as to tie her to Spain and Spanish history. Perhaps the clearest example of the ways in which Spanish geography and icons infiltrated Félix's star discourse in Spain comes from an excerpt published by *Primer Plano* on March 6, 1949:

> Cuando María Félix llegó a España, lo primero que oyó fué un piropo. También lo último que ha escuchado en Madrid ha sido un piropo, y nada menos que de Wenceslao Fernández Flórez. Cuando Cesáreo la presentó a Wenceslao y dijo: 'Es gallego, como todo lo bueno que hay en España', el novelista la dijo: 'Claro, y si usted no es de Galicia, a pesar de toda esa belleza, merecía serlo.' (García 20-21)

According to Fernández Flórez's compliment, Félix deserves to be called Galician because of her beauty. Spain is for Félix a land of compliments, and the land that best complements her splendor. The implication is that beauty only exists in Spain, and that Félix's beauty

should belong to Spain in some way. However, this compliment does not settle for incorporating Félix into the whole of the Spanish nation, but rather to the historically marginalized region of Galicia.[43] This statement works to align the liminality of Latin America to Spain with that of Galicia within the Iberian Peninsula and continues to 'other' Félix as a result. While Félix was located in Madrid, the very center of the Franco regime, her beauty was relegated to the Spanish periphery, even when supposedly complimented.

In general, most of what was written about María Félix in Spain was high praise that paid lip service to her Mexican roots, while reinforcing Spanish values and imagery in her life. In an interview for *Cámara*, Alfredo Tocildo comments that the room where he interviewed her was comfortable and accommodating: "En la pared descansa una guitarra. Y por doquier, muestras de nuestro arte español, que ella recogió en sus andanzas por las tierras de nuestra patria." Her "comfortable and accommodating room" was made so by the presence of Spanish art and other souvenirs from Félix's travels around Spain. She praises Spain as "maravillosa…una bella tierra," and even claims that Spain has it better than Mexico: "Méjico está aniquilado por el turismo; ya no existe la belleza natural, salvaje, escondida. En cambio, aquí todo es diferente." (Tocildo 14). In Félix's eyes, Mexico was overrun with tourists, while Spain was an undiscovered natural paradise.

In spite of all the compliments, Félix's presence in the Spanish film industry was not without its criticism. Tocildo asks her:

> ¿Cómo es posible—pregunto—que en 'Doña Diabla,' recientemente proyectada en el II Certamen, esté usted tan guapa, y en 'La noche del sábado' no lo esté? ¿Por qué en las películas mejicanas es usted una gran actriz, y en las españolas, no? ¿A qué se debe que su voz resulte perfectamente fonogénica en Méjico y aquí se la entienda con dificultad? (Tocildo 12)

[43] Though Galicia is the home of Franco's birthplace, the region still suffered extensively under his regime. *Gallego* was officially banned, and small towns in river valleys across the country (including in Galicia) were flooded to create dams and funnel hydroelectric power to the rest of the country (Treglown 36-56).

Tocildo's line of questioning highlights the various attempts to bridge Mexican and Spanish cinema at the time (not only through the star persona of Félix herself, but also through the II Cinematographic Competition and the creation of co-productions), while still noting the divisions that demarcated the two industries. And though Tocildo points to Félix as a bridge between the Mexican and Spanish film industries, the affective quality of his words shapes Félix's body and performances as contributing to the division between the two countries. He accuses her of appearing more beautiful, sexy and even more imposing as a star in her Mexican films (perhaps implying that she was slacking in her performances in Spanish films).

This conversation points to the construction of the star image in the discourse surrounding Félix in Spain. Tocildo seems to allege that Félix prefers her Mexican work over her Spanish films simply by performing better in Mexican films. Perhaps this is a subtly backhanded dig at the Spanish audience itself, who preferred Mexican films over Spanish ones, even those Spanish ones that starred the great María Félix. But as a result of its mere existence, this series of questions also works to shape Félix's body as something that could be Spanish, if only it tried hard enough. The parallel structure (beginning with comparing two individual films, then moving through the more general Mexican films versus Spanish ones, and then broadening out even further to Mexico versus "here" (Spain) takes two individual performances that might be evaluated on more or less equal footing and extrapolates them into metonymical representations of nationhood. The underlying assumption is that her performances should be equally as good (if not better) in Spain as those in Mexico, implying that Félix herself is the only explanation of both "great" Mexican performances and mediocre Spanish ones.

Even as this series of questions undermines María Félix's ability to perform "Spanishness," it reinforces her capacity to perform "Hispanic-ness." She may not be as

beautiful, or as sultry, or as great of an actress in her Spanish films, but Tocildo implies that she *should* be able to be so. And this highlights the problematic conceptualization of nationalizing the star discourse of a Latin American celebrity for a Spanish audience, especially as such a process occurred under the Franco regime: centuries of imperial politics are erased, subsumed by the structures of consumption that extract Latin American resources (including celebrities) to reinforce the "civilizing" mission of *Hispanidad* and legitimate the dictatorship. According to Félix, Spanish cameramen did not know how to light her, and the sound technology used was out of date. This points to the well-known truth that cinematic beauty is a function of technology. The fact that Félix could not perform Spanishness for a Spanish audience had less to do with her own capabilities as an actress than it did with the state of the Spanish film industry as a whole. The only aspect of Félix's star image that changed in her transition from Mexican to Spanish cinema was the technology used to record her image and the skills of the cameramen tasked with capturing her.

I would also argue that scriptwriters working in Spanish cinema did not know how to write roles for Félix that conformed to expectations for women under the regime and adequately captured her star personality. As an actress, Félix had a fairly limited range, reinforced by industrial typecasting: she could play imperious divas, usually decked out in rich gowns and showered with jewels.[44] Her star text in Spain supported this, with articles about her attending and giving fancy cocktail parties, photos of her wearing sumptuous furs while she descended from her airplane at Barajas, and interviews with her while she drove her car around Madrid circulated in the Spanish press. Two different interviewers directly asked her how wealthy she is (see Gómez Tello and Tocildo, both in 1950), and

[44] In *La corona negra*, Félix is supposed to play Mara Russell as a passive and obedient woman while she suffers amnesia; however, her performance is unconvincing, as she portrays passivity with too much fire and scorn.

she declined to answer both directly, responding that she had enough, or that intelligence and personality matter more. However, a blurb in *Lecturas* reinforced Spanish fascinations with María Félix's extravagant wealth by publishing a photo of Félix sitting in a fur coat in a hotel room, surrounded by luggage. The caption states:

> En su dormitorio del sexto piso del Claridge, en Londres, envueltos en papel azul, había sesenta y tres trajes de noche, cincuenta y un pares de guantes, cincuenta y dos sombreros, ciento sesenta y un pares de zapatos, ciento cincuenta medias nylon, ciento treinta y cuatro vestidos para diario y doce saltos de cama. Y echados sobre la cama y las sillas había doce chaquetas de visión. ("Mosaico: María Félix" 36)

Though the blurb in *Lecturas* finds no fault with the extravagant display of excess in the photo, it does criticize the large numbers mentioned in the caption as a bit of *cursilería* or vulgarity.

Félix's demonstrations of excessive wealth tied in with understandings of her as arrogant and vain. Tocildo concludes his interview in *Cámara* by asking: ¿Quién dijo que María Félix era antipática? ¿Quién aseguró que era soberbia y vanidosa? (Tocildo 14). Clearly a rumor must have been circulating in Spain at the time that necessitated the clarification that she was not in fact mean, overly proud and vain. In September 1948, *Fotógramas* published an anonymous quote from "Una actriz extranjera (que interpreta una película española)." María Félix was one of few (if not the only) foreign female star filming in Spain at the time, and it is not difficult to imagine her as saying: "¡No trabajo hoy más! Veremos si mañana estoy en condiciones de hacer ese plano que falta…" (Reflejos del cine español 19). These words certainly seem like something that would come out of the mouth of a woman many considered to be a proud and narcissistic diva.

Once in Spain, María Félix's star discourse is no longer the same symbol of Mexican national identity. The affects of *Hispanidad* under Franco Spain shape Félix's body as not wholly Mexican precisely by words and symbols that incorporate her body into

a Spanish identity (like those used by Fernández Flórez above, or even like the comments that Tocildo makes regarding the objects that surround her). These affects shape Félix as broadly Hispanic under the auspices of the former Spanish Empire, even as they preserve the coloniality of power of Spain in relation to Latin America. Félix ultimately cannot perform Spanishness for a Spanish audience because, as a Latin American actress, she is not white enough. Rather the Francoist discourse of *Hispanidad* erases her non-Spanish roots and affectively shapes her body to conform to a more generic "Hispanic-ness." María Félix's body, in other words, is welcome in Spain only insofar as it serves to remind Spaniards of the country's imperial past, or of the Madrid/Castilian hegemonic present.

This imperial past recurs in one type of images of Félix published in Spain while she was working and living in Madrid. Spanish magazines published photos of her arriving at Barajas, in her hotel room during interviews, dressed as a character on set. In addition, another type of photo allowed for an affective appropriation of Félix and reinforced the asymmetrical structures of the coloniality of power in Félix's star discourse in Spain. In this type of photo, María Félix poses in front of statues and monuments that recall Spain's glorious imperial past: the Puerta de Alcalá, Cibeles, and the Prado. In the driving tour that Félix did in July of 1950, Gómez Tello notes that "María Félix habla sinceramente, y se ríe como si hiciera una travesura al dejar el automóvil al borde de la plaza y saltar el alambre para hacerse una fotografía" ("María Félix, entrevistada en automóvil" 6). (In this interview, she also states that the role that she would most like to play is Isabel la Católica, which we will discuss later.) Most other stars who visited Madrid during the period in question were photographed at Barajas airport (or Príncipe Pío train station in the case of Jorge Negrete), in their hotel rooms or at a bullfight. Félix is the only star for whom posing in front of monumental sites becomes a part of her star discourse in Madrid. It's almost as if she is recognized as a tourist, like other stars, but one for whom urbane cosmopolitanism

is more salient than a desire to consume Spain's "different" culture of bullfighting and flamenco.

In 1953, Sofía Morales interviewed Félix for *Primer Plano* during another driving tour of Madrid. This time, they drove past the Plaza de Colón on the way to visit the Plaza de Cibeles, the Puerta de Alcalá and the Paseo del Prado in Félix's turquoise blue Cadillac (Morales 6-7). Or as Morales states: "Se va a realizar en imágenes lo que sin duda soñó Agustín Lara cuando compuso el famoso chotis" (6).[45] The caption under the photo of Félix at the Puerta de Alcalá states: "La reina de Méjico, en plena calle de Alcalá con la puerta al fondo y el inevitable y simpático guardia que nos dió permiso para mover este pequeña jaleíllo en su ordenada circulación" (7). Félix is not actually the queen of Mexico, but the text still states her visit in feudal or diplomatic terms. Placing Félix in front of these monuments is a reminder of the strength of the former Spanish Empire (as it hearkens back to the time in which they were built), even as it also speaks to the hegemony of Madrid (as the capital) within Franco Spain. One part of the article is even titled "Descubrimiento de Colón," cheekily referencing yet again the long history of Spain's imperial presence in the Americas. Though this part subverts Columbus's discovery by instead commenting on Félix's own discovery of his statue in the Plaza de Colón—she apparently said "¡Oh! Mira a Colón qué mono con su batita de piedra"—it still reinforces the affective pull of *Hispanidad*. The discourse perpetuates itself in constant references to the images and symbols of empire (subversive or not).

One of the principal ways that González aimed to reinforce the ideals of *Hispanidad* was through the creation of feature-length films that could double as propaganda, such as Félix's first Spanish film, *Mare Nostrum*, an adaptation of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez's novel

[45] In addition to composing "María bonita" dedicated to María Félix and a phrase which would become one of her many sobriquets, Lara also composed the schottische "Chotis Madrid", with lyrics such as: "Madrid, Madrid, Madrid, en México se piensa mucho en ti"

of the same name. Mare Nostrum happens to be the phrase that Ancient Romans used to refer to the Mediterranean Sea and its environs; in the twentieth century, Mussolini appropriated the term to reinforce fascist propaganda based on reviving the legacy of the Italian Empire. Blasco Ibáñez was a lifelong atheist and anti-clericalist whose Hollywood adaptations were kept out of Spain during the early years of the Franco dictatorship, but censorship of his work had softened considerably by 1949. In a letter to the Spanish censors, Cesáreo González actually uses Blasco Ibáñez's international renown (and the ways in which Spanish Republicans admired his anti-monarchical and pro-federalist ideological leanings) to justify the service that his film performs for the regime as a sort of international propaganda, aimed at recuperating the name of the Spanish government among the Allied Powers:

> Y todo esto ha cristalizado en una producción de primer orden, cuyo título y argumento ha habido que conseguir tras largos esfuerzos, debido al encarecimiento que sobre sus derechos se había producido por el éxito de la primera versión realizada por productores americanos, pero, cuya consecución ha traído aparejada el arrebatar el nombre internacional de Blasco Ibáñez a aquellos que lo esgrimían como bandera contra nuestra patria. (Expediente de censura: *Mare Nostrum*)

Thus, *Mare Nostrum*, the film, remarkably rewrites not just fiction, but also history, as it positioned Blasco Ibáñez as one whose ideology would have reflected that of the regime.

Mare Nostrum not only rewrote Blasco Ibáñez's political ideologies; it also attempted to rewrite the history of Spanish neutrality during World War II. Though the original novel was set during World War I, Suevia Films' scriptwriters located the action in World War II so that "la película fuese un esfuerzo más en la labor de desvirtuar los falsos conceptos que en todo el mundo y especialmente en América existen, respecto a la posición de estricta neutralidad, que España mantuvo en la pasada guerra mundial" (Expediente de censura: *Mare Nostrum*). In this way, the film aimed to help foreigners gloss over Franco's decision to remain neutral during World War II, while at the same time

continuing to exalt the militaristic side of the Franco regime by glorifying naval accomplishments. That said, Mexican critics apparently chastised the film precisely for this change; according to Taibo I, they complained that "Esto es una mistificación profunda, atrevida e injustificada" (*María Félix* 135).

In fact, the film's title credits bolster the theory that *Mare Nostrum* could serve as propaganda for the Franco regime's military might, as they thank the Spanish Navy for its aid in filming. These credits appear over a map of Europe and the Mediterranean Sea and give María Félix top billing. That said, *Mare Nostrum* is less notable for Félix's acting than for its manipulation of historical events. Félix plays Italo-German spy Freya Talberg, lustfully pursued across Italy by Fernando Rey's Ulises Ferragut. She seduces him and convinces him to help her plant bombs throughout the Mediterranean Sea, as well as to aid in the escape of diplomat Count Gavelin. When Ferragut's son dies in the explosion of a sea mine, Ferragut decides to go rogue and avenge his son's death by fighting the Axis. The film ends with Freya captured, tried and sentenced to death (in uniform, that is, in a beautiful gown, jewels and shawl), and with Ferragut's boat sinking in an air raid. Throughout *Mare Nostrum*, radio broadcasts, newspapers and even Ferragut's mate, Segundo, reiterate that Spain was a neutral nation during World War II. That said, the imagery used in the film modifies this neutrality through the figure of Ferragut, a metonym of the Spanish nation who demonstrates that, at heart, Spain was pro-Ally. The film does this through montage scenes that show news headlines from the war overlapping with medium shots of Ferragut in front of an American and British flag (Gil).

María Félix's casting in *Mare Nostrum* reflects the strategy used in the other Spanish films that she would star in: it elides her Mexican origins by casting her in non-Mexican roles, yet it still capitalizes on her 'otherness' within Spain. We have already discussed Freya's Italo-Germanic origins in *Mare Nostrum*; in *La noche del sábado* (1950),

she plays an Italian prostitute in the early 1900s. In *Una mujer cualquiera* (1949), she portrays Nieves, who evades questions about her origins by saying that she is "from anywhere" [de cualquier sitio] when asked if she is American. And in *La corona negra* (1951), her character, Mara Russel, suffers from amnesia in Tangiers. It does not matter that her accent is Mexican; it matters only that it is foreign. Ergo, Félix can play any foreigner, even characters who are not exactly foreign but simply located in a distant time and place (after all, *La noche del sábado* was originally a play by respected Spanish dramatist and Nobel prizewinner Jacinto Benavente).

La corona negra is perhaps the most stylistically interesting Spanish film that Félix participated in, and certainly one of the most innovative under the Franco regime at the time. Gerard Dapena argues that its very existence should force us to question commonly held assumptions regarding Spanish filmmaking under the early years of the Franco regime (125). The international milieu and genre-blending plot crafted by Argentine director Luis Saslavsky (with a script by Miguel Mihura attributed to Jean Cocteau) in *La corona negra* marked the film as one of the most intriguing outliers of Spanish cinema under the early years of the Franco regime. I would argue that this derives from the quality of its cinematography and editing over anything else. Félix's performance as Russell betrays her limited acting range, as she cannot feign to be a submissive, passive and confused amnesiac. But the quantity of Dutch tilts, fades, flashbacks and visual allusions to films by Hitchcock and Cocteau reveal the sort of cinematic pastiche—celebrating and modifying foreign cinematic influences—that would become characteristic of later periods of Spanish cinema. The final sequence in particular recalls the visual imagery of an indigenous Mexican peasant, as Félix wraps a long, white shawl around her head and leans against a white stucco wall, framed by palm trees and giant aloe leaves. This shot calls to mind a specific visual vocabulary of Mexican-ness like that developed by Gabriel Figueroa and

Emilio Fernández, even though none of the film's characterizations nor any aspect of the plot is related to Mexico. Such visual imagery reinforces Félix's origins as a Mexican star while appropriating Mexican film imagery as a part of the optics of Spanish cinema.

By making films in Spain, Félix became subjected to the cultural imperialism of the discourse of *Hispanidad* under the Franco regime. Even as a borrowed star, she became identified with the Spanish film industry, and thus with Spain, from 1948 to 1953. The imagery that defined her star discourse in Mexico became reinterpreted for a Spanish audience and mingled with Spanish conceptions of Latin America to construct an understanding of "María Félix, star" who Spanish audiences could identify with. Sara Ahmed claims that "identification expands the space of the subject: it is a form of love that tells the subject what it could become in the intensity of its direction towards another (love as 'towardness')" (*Cultural Politics* 126). Spanish fans (Cesáreo González included) who loved the star discourse of María Félix expanded the space of Spain and the Spanish film industry to include her, and this expansion indicated to Spanish filmmakers and filmgoers that some of the glamour and artistry of her life and her films would rub off on them.

This identification goes both ways in the star discourse of María Félix in Spain. Not only do Spaniards expand the space of the nation (and national cinematic industry) to include her, but interviews with Félix in film magazines in Spain indicate that she herself is expanding her artistic repertoire to better identify with Spain. As Ahmed notes, identification "involves making likeness, rather than being alike; the subject becomes 'like' the object or other only in the future" (*Cultural Politics* 126). For Félix to become 'like' Spaniards, she must indicate her desire to portray idealized figures of Spanish femininity, such as Queen Isabel. This aspiration—explained in *Cámara* as one borne of Félix's "amor puro y emotive hacia España y los españoles"—allows for a sort of affective appropriation of her by the Spanish press (García de la Puerta "La verdad en la ficción" 29). Isabel is a

problematic figure of feminine ideals under the gender discourse of the Franco regime, as Helen Graham has argued, given her function in the public sphere as monarch (Graham 184). Nonetheless, Félix can claim the desire to bring Isabel to life in a future film, and the "love towards Spain" that is read in this longing (expressed via newspaper accounts) thus allows her to approximate a future Spanishness.

Félix never actually portrayed Isabel onscreen, perhaps because her "otherness" proved too high a barrier to surmount.[46] However, in this article, we see at work what Paul Rixon has labeled a process of "nationalization" of a global star: "A discursive struggle between maintaining a known global image and seeking to re-shape the celebrity persona for a particular national context" (44). Specifically, we see how the Spanish press appropriated the star sign of María Félix and inscribed gendered representations of *Hispanidad*—such as the desire to represent the female historical figure who united Castile and Aragon and brought Spain as a nation into existence—onto it. This is particularly problematic given Félix's role in the consolidation of Mexican national identity during the Golden Age of Mexican cinema.

Any more nuanced racialization (in the form of *mestizaje* or *criollismo*) that formed a part of Félix's star discourse in Mexico is subsumed under the stereotype of "Latin American other" as elaborated by the Spanish press. The Spanish press does refer to her as a "mejicana" or even sometimes as an "azteca", but neither works to retain the aspects of her heritage inherent in Félix's star discourse in Mexico as a symbol of the developing Mexican nation-state. One might consider that the term "mejicana" would encapsulate a tradition of *mestizaje*, but only insofar as a tradition of miscegenation is directly tied to the

[46] In 2017, a similarly hybrid actress, Michelle Jenner, would incarnate Queen Isabel the Catholic in the RTVE production *Isabel*. However, Jenner's mixed ancestry is white European, as her father is of Spanish and English descent, and her mother is French.

legacy of the Spanish Empire and not to the identity of a new-fledged nation-state.[47] This is where Rixon's argument on the "nationalisation" of international celebrities is a bit short-sighted; he does not dissect how race and ethnicity play into the "nationalisation" of international stars. If anything, part of the process of "nationalisation" of stars from the Global South involves a certain amount of whitewashing. And in the case of Spain under Franco, this whitewashing took the form of appropriating the best and most talented figures in Latin American cinema and incorporating them into Spanish cinema as reflections of the "civilizing" mission of *Hispanidad*.

Though the characters that María Félix played in her Spanish films were foreign or "other," her sojourns in the Spanish film industry ultimately served her in the quest for international stardom. Though she never acted in Hollywood, most likely knowing that she would be typecast and second-billed, other national cinemas accepted her generic Hispanic-ness and through it, she broke into international stardom. Any international star is always already in a process of becoming, actively erasing their origins and discursively replacing them with universal traits, crafted to appeal specifically to local audiences. However, we must be careful not to reinforce existing relations of power as we analyze transnational stardom. Félix's presence in Spain—especially the photoshoots that modeled her in front of imperial monuments—calls to mind the practice of bringing indigenous Americans to the center of imperial power as a showcase of fealty and a demonstration of the riches that lay beyond the sea. Though working in Spain may have served Félix in her quest for international stardom, her presence in the country reinforced imperial notions of *Hispanidad* and her star discourse was ultimately coopted by the Franco regime to serve as propaganda in the quest of international rehabilitation. Félix's presence in Spain

[47] I have developed an argument along these lines in my article regarding Jorge Negrete's star discourse in Spain; in short, the *mestizo* citizen of the industrializing Mexican nation in the mid-twentieth century is invisible in Spain, made so by the persistence of the imperial-colonial matrix.

reinforced a romanticized past of Spanish superiority over its former Latin American colonies in the ways in which her body was 'othered' in Spain; in contrast Rita Hayworth would represent a sort of aspirational whiteness for Spaniards, the ideal that Spain could become in rescuing and resuscitating pure Spanish-ness from white Hollywood hybridity.

Chapter 4: The Affective Shimmers of Heritage in the Star Discourse of Rita Hayworth in Spain

If María Félix's star discourse in Spain played into the imperial/colonial facet of *Hispanidad* under the Franco regime, then the figure of Rita Hayworth provides us with the perfect cipher to tease out and better understand the racial ambiguities of *Hispanidad* as it pertained to marginalized groups in the Iberian Peninsula. Peter William Evans notes that Hayworth's years as a dancer and supporting cast member transformed her "physically from the raven-haired, low-forehead, Latin-looking 'B' actress into the auburn-haired, electrolysis-improved hairline American beauty with a *soupçon* of exoticism" (108, emphasis in original). These changes facilitated Hayworth's transnational stardom, or as Janell Hobson remarks, they serve as "a stark reminder of how race, when intersecting with gender, determines whose bodies can cross or grate against the color line and the national border" (14). As an international star, Hayworth's star discourse mutated when it traveled to her father's homeland of Spain, as film and press censorship worked to reconfigure her Spanish lineage as the most salient aspect of her Anglicized image, ensuring that she would be read as Margarita Carmen Cansino, daughter of Eduardo Cansino and granddaughter of Antonio "Padre" Cansino, flamenco dancers of Castilleja de la Cuesta, Seville. Hayworth's blood ties to Andalusian (thus Gypsy or possibly *converso*) heritage worked to tie her to Spain in a racialized way that linked her to a symbolically important, yet historically marginalized and unassimilated ethnic group.

In this chapter, I will analyze elements of the transnational star discourse of Rita Hayworth in Spain to illustrate how the Spanish press and the censorship imposed by the Franco regime manipulated her star image for her Spanish audience, excavating and prioritizing Margarita Carmen Cansino in the process. To do this, I will first briefly elaborate on the work that Hayworth undertook to whiten her image for Hollywood. The

changes that Hayworth made to her body to become a Hollywood star whitened her image for a Spanish audience, yet the Spanish press insisted on recuperating Margarita Carmen Cansino in the image of Rita Hayworth. I will next analyze two examples of how the recovery of Rita Cansino worked in the Spanish press to demonstrate the rhetorical and visual gymnastics required to foreground Rita Cansino as the authentic Hayworth. I will then delve into how Hayworth's figured was nationalized for a Spanish audience in the scandal surrounding *Gilda* in Spain. Hayworth's starring role in this film evoked a strong emotional reaction in the country that I argue was stronger for the ways in which Hayworth had been read (and continued to be read) as Spanish.

The *Gilda* scandal contributed to understandings of Hayworth's star image as hypersexualized and at odds with the gender discourse propagated in Franco Spain, even though her whiteness represented a variant on the Hispanic racial ideal propagated under the Franco regime. I analyze how whiteness functions as a subtext of *Hispanidad* under the Franco regime and in Hayworth's star discourse in Spain. The Spanish media projected the qualities privileged by the regime onto the anglicized Hayworth and her concomitant desire or ability to portray the Andalusian persona they anticipated of her (or not). Finally, I will analyze how the discourses of gender and nationalism propagated by the Franco regime influenced Hayworth's star discourse in Spain. Specifically, I will demonstrate that certain symbols of national pride promulgated by the Franco regime—such as familial heritage, the Spanish language, the space of the Iberian Peninsula, and folkloric traditions like flamenco dancing—continuously reassert themselves in Hayworth's star discourse in Spain. I argue that these symbols, combined with her anglicized body and the *Gilda* scandal, demonstrate that the ideals represented by Hayworth's whitened body were fundamentally Spanish, yet of a marginalized Andalusian-ness. Even as Hayworth represented a white hybridity and female sexual empowerment that destabilized the

patriarchy privileged by the regime, her star discourse could not overcome the racialization of Andalusians within Spain.[48]

Margarita Carmen Cansino was never going to be a Hollywood star. By 1940, she had appeared in twenty-five movies—approximately half her lifetime output—but none were more than bit parts or small speaking roles. In these early films—and under the stage name Rita Cansino—she alternately portrayed Egyptian, Russian, Spanish, Mexican and South American women. Even as Rita Cansino, directors altered her physical appearance to exoticize her for such roles: her originally brown hair was dyed black; her fair skin darkened with makeup; and her costumes emphasized the otherness of the characters she was portraying. Or, as Adrienne McLean notes, the "outer symbols of Rita Cansino were manufactured to fit a descent ethnicity that maximized aspects of her hereditary privilege," namely, the hereditary privilege of being born half-Spanish; half-French-Irish, ethnically 'other' and entirely All-American (48). Cansino attained some attention for these roles, but not enough to make her a leading lady in the Hollywood of WASP America. Her then-husband and agent, Edward Judson, embarked on a campaign to make her a star, and it started with a massive makeover. He arranged a series of electrolysis treatments (that lasted one or three years, depending on the source) to raise and straighten her low and irregular hairline. He also had her dye her hair red and adopt her mother's maiden name for her screen name. From then on, Rita Cansino would be known as Rita Hayworth, and as Rita Hayworth, she would garner unfathomed international acclaim.

Even as Hayworth erased her Spanish roots to become an All-American celebrity, they remained as a palimpsest in her Hollywood star discourse, and they served as proof of her intrinsic Spanish identity—as well as proof of a perceived betrayal of that identity—

[48] I claim that Hayworth represented a white hybridity due to the ways in which her Spanish heritage marked one sort of whiteness vis-à-vis Latin America, while the Anglo phenotype that she presented post-makeover added another layer of whiteness to her star image.

under the Franco regime. Hayworth's Spanish father appears in article after article about Hayworth in both Hollywood and Spain. In Hayworth's Hollywood discourse his presence functions as that of a simple signifier of 'otherness', whereas in Spain, the figures of her father and grandfather become the mediating force through which the Spanish press approximate her. The persona of Rita Cansino remains in Hayworth's Hollywood star text to illustrate the lengths that she had travelled to become an All-American star, the work and suffering that she had endured to get there, and the choices that she had had to make along the way. In Spain, however, this process of becoming is represented as both a betrayal of her heritage and as a quest to reencounter it, peaking in the explosive reactions surrounding Hayworth's scandalous portrayal of Gilda.

Margarita Carmen Cansino represented neither traditional Anglo idealizations of whiteness, nor what Eva Woods refers to as the ideal Hispanic "darker somatic norm image" of whiteness, the *morena clara* (*White Gypsies* 27). After her make-over, Hayworth projected a phenotype even whiter than that of the *morena clara*. Her brown hair (dyed red or blond) and high, even hairline brought her image more in line with the racial expectations of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant America and her maternal French-Irish heritage than that of her paternal Hispanic descent. This did not prevent the Spanish press from reading her Spanish heritage into images of her modified features. Perhaps the clearest example of this is an ¡*Hola*! cover from February 9, 1946 that shows a light-haired Hayworth in a textured lame shirt, lying over a plaid couch ("Rita Hayworth, excelente artista…" 1). The caption of this photo—"Rita Hayworth, excelente artista de la Fox, en cuyo rostro se encarna la belleza y la gracia de su ascendencia española"—very clearly reinscribes Hayworth's Hispanic heritage onto her lighter somatic norm image, claiming that "the grace and beauty of her Spanish heritage" can be found in her face, even if such

a bloodline is not readily apparent from the photo, and is in fact masked by the glamor of the textured lame shirt Hayworth wears and the plaid couch she lounges on.

The makeover process that whitened Hayworth's star image for Hollywood succeeded in establishing her as a transnational celebrity and in endowing her with the affective power that such a public position requires. In *Being Rita Hayworth*, Adrienne McLean notes that between 1949 and 1952, Hayworth's star discourse in Hollywood survived despite the lack of star vehicles that she participated in, thanks to her marriage to Prince Ali Khan, and the subsequent press surrounding Hayworth's Hollywood royalty turning into actual royalty (91). Yet her star discourse in Spain reaches its zenith around 1950, for various reasons. First, *Gilda* premiered in Spain at the end of 1947 and caused a societal uproar that continued through at least 1949, with several bishops banning the film in different cities. Second, thanks to severe restrictions on imports to the country, many distribution companies simply re-released films that they already had in their library. Thus, films like *You Were Never Lovelier (Bailando nace el amor*) or *Las modelos* were exhibited again in theaters, for Spaniards to enjoy. Third, Hayworth's sudden success within Spain led to the release of a backlog of films—*Gilda* (1946) and *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947) were released approximately within the same year in Spain, with *The Loves of Carmen* (1948) and *You'll Never Get Rich (Desde aquel beso*) (1941) not far behind. Finally, Hayworth visited Spain twice (once in 1948 and again in 1950). While Hollywood suffered from a lack of her presence in new films, Spaniards and the Spanish press enjoyed delayed releases of her prior work and took advantage of her physical presence in Spain to re-graft her Andalusian heritage onto her star discourse via references to key symbols of Spanish national identity, primarily her familial lineage and ability (or not) to speak Spanish.

THE SPANISH HERITAGE OF MARGARITA CARMEN CANSINO HAYWORTH

Adrienne McLean dissects the labor that Hayworth put into becoming an international star, and the ways in which she shaped her image and persona for a white US audience. She specifically notes that Hayworth's image became a cipher onto which diverse audiences could project their own identities, arguing that "one of the most significant paradoxes of Rita Hayworth in any incarnation is that she can be read as ethnic *or* American but also as ethnic and *therefore* American" (47, emphasis in original). McLean parses the differences between consent and descent ethnicity, arguing that Hollywood favored representing "consent ethnicity" as a way to construct Americanness as assimilation. As we will see, Hayworth's Spanish press emphasized descent ethnicity—her blood, lineage and family—as the key characteristics linking her to the country.

The tensions inherent in the Hollywood narrative of Hayworth's star discourse did not disappear in Spain; rather, new tensions appeared as Hayworth's star text traveled to (one of) her ancestral homelands. For instance, any mention of Hayworth's Spanish familial lineage quickly turned to her rejection of said lineage. In turn, the Spanish press reacted by rejecting hybridity as the defining characteristic of Hayworth's star image. Mentions of Hayworth's mother are rare and perfunctory, with far more detail and attention devoted to Hayworth's father and grandfather. Most articles accomplish this task by referring to her at least once as Margarita Carmen Cansino or Rita Cansino, though some take it further and ONLY call her Cansino, refusing to mention the more Anglicized Hayworth at all. Such a rejection leads to the Spanish press manipulating her star image in strange ways, as there is no denying that post-make-over Rita Hayworth did not look Hispanic.

For instance, rather than simply re-impose Spanish ascendance onto Hayworth's anglicized features, *Lecturas* charts a different course by publishing a photo from its

archive in May 1949 in its "Mosaico" part. The photo shows a young Hayworth sitting in a frilly satin and tulle dress between her father and grandfather. The lengthy caption goes to great lengths to avoid using the name "Hayworth." It cites the photo's original caption—one that emphasized the star's Spanish dancing background from when she still went by Rita Cansino—then asks the question, "Who is Rita Cansino?" The response is enlightening:

> Rita Cansino es hoy la mujer que gracias a su interpretación del papel femenino en la película 'Gilda', ha sido comentada y discutida en el mundo entero. Rita Cansino está prometida al hijo y heredero del Agá Khan. A Rita Cansino la hemos visto en diversas producciones del cine norteamericano y apenas si podemos reconocer en la americanizada estrella de cabellera rojiza y voz algo bronca, a la ingenua Rita Cansino de otros tiempos. La muchachita que sonreía suavemente al fotografiarse, orgullosa, entre su abuelo y su padre. ("Mosaico: de nuestro archivo" 36)

By only referring to her as Rita Cansino, this article resuscitates and re-imposes a Spanish identity onto Hayworth. References to *Gilda* and to Ali Khan helped to clarify that Cansino really was the same woman as Hayworth, but they also emphasize the stark difference between Hayworth and who she once was. The last sentence implies that the most salient aspect of her star discourse in Spain was her familial roots and the pride that she *should* take in those roots.[49]

Articles like the above-mentioned *Lecturas* article represent the culmination of the type of commentary that circulated around the figure of Hayworth in Spain. She may have been Americanized, or even simply 'translated' as American, but her Hispanic heritage shines through and ties her to the country in ways that reinforce regime propaganda of

[49] By May 1949, the furor over *Gilda* had come and gone a few times (though it would reappear in November 1949 with another prohibition, this time from the archbishop of Granada). Thus, the article can reference *Gilda* so that readers know the star's identity without having to even mention the name Hayworth.

blood and family ties.[50] Specifically, many articles about Hayworth reference not just Rita Cansino, but also use some variation of the phrase: "por cuyas venas corre sangre española." The review of *Gilda* published by *Marca* labels her a 'súper-gachí,' explaining that they tried to find the superlative for a slang term that legitimately corresponded to her blood (Martel 6). References to her bloodline and heritage reinforce a country-wide knowledge that Gilda—Hayworth—was Spanish. In 1959, Dolores Quesada would author a popular biography of Hayworth, in which she claimed that before *Gilda*, Hayworth was known as "la estrella española," but after *Gilda*, "no nos era demasiado grato hablar de su ascendencia" (Quesada 6-7). My research does not support this claim, however, because of the vast quantity of articles published during and after *Gilda* arrived in Spain (including some reviews of *Gilda*) that continue to mention her Spanish heritage (even if only to lament her betrayal of it). And of course, articles like the photo and its caption from *Lecturas* mentioned above inscribed pride onto Hayworth's figure, specifically the pride of being born Spaniard and of pertaining to a Spanish family.

Hayworth's popularity in Spain existed because of the way in which she incarnated certain ideals of womanhood, and in the way that the specific image that she presented of womanhood could be linked to the Spanish nation via her paternal lineage. According to Sara Ahmed:

> The content of the ideal is an effect of the process of idealization. In other words, it is not that there is an ideal, which some more than others can approximate or 'measure up to'. The national ideal is shaped by taking some bodies as its form and not others. The pride of some subjects is in a way tautological: *they feel pride at approximating an ideal that has already taken their shape* (*Cultural Politics* 109, emphasis in original).

[50] In an opinion piece about Hayworth's marriage to Ali Khan, the commentator Asterisco describes Hayworth in the following terms for the Falangist newspaper *Proa* (Léon): "Margarita Cansinos (sic)—traducida a Rita Hayworth y conocida en las cinco partes del mundo—" ("Gilda se casa" 4)

By being the daughter of a Spanish father, Rita Hayworth has already taken the shape of a Spaniard, even though she represented an even lighter somatic norm image that that of the *morena clara* privileged under the Franco regime. Perhaps the Spanish press discursively reinscribed Hispanic heritage onto Hayworth in the 1940s by referencing her familial lineage precisely because it was not readily apparent from her glamor shots or from her most recent cinematic roles.

Blood ties are important under Franquismo. As much as the Spanish Civil War pitted brother against brother and destroyed families in the process, it was also about purging Spain of foreign influences and reinforcing familial (and thus state) hierarchies. Commentary about Hayworth's heritage uses language and blood ties to manage the affective connection between Hayworth and her Spanish fans. At times she is celebrated as being half-Spanish; at others, denigrated for having altered her appearance or conducted herself in a manner unbecoming to a Spanish woman living under the regime. In this way, Hayworth's star image in Spain helped to mediate the changes that were occurring in Spanish society during the transition from autarky to international acceptance and a capitalist economy. Nowhere were these changes more apparent than in the reception and reaction to Hayworth's portrayal of a guileless performer of promiscuity in *Gilda*.

THE AFFECTIVE POWER OF GILDA IN SPAIN

Hayworth's marquee film, *Gilda*, debuted in Spain on December 22, 1947, after a censorship process that lasted about a year. For better or worse, the censors of the Franco regime tended to succeed in minimizing the quantity of potentially scandalous material that

entered the country via prohibitions and excisions; however, the original cuts to *Gilda* were few, primarily aimed at curtailing the perceived promiscuity of Gilda by shortening her dance sequences. The censorship file in the Archivo General de la Administración contains the censors' notes, a version of the script translated into Spanish, and other bureaucratic paperwork such as licenses and receipts. In addition, telegrams, letters and short news articles from across Spain (primarily Málaga, Burgos and Madrid) object to the screening of *Gilda* as an "ejemplo pernicioso" that betrays the Catholic morality imposed by the regime. On January 17, 1948, the Archbishop of the Canary Islands even called on his diocese to boycott the film, declaring it "gravamente escandalosa" and threatening citizens that seeing it would constitute a mortal sin (de Pildáin y Zapiáin 14). Seven weeks after the film premiered in Spain, the censors required that Columbia turn in all publicity material and film reels for a censorial revision, and unfortunately, the censorship file does not contain any information regarding any edits requested or made at that time. In October of 1948, various Catholic organizations from Burgos sent telegrams to the censorship board, supporting the January decree of the Bishop of León to prohibit the film from the region ("Asociación", "Hombres", "Junta Diocesana").

It is difficult to overstate the size of the scandal that rocked Spain upon the first screenings of *Gilda*. Thanks to the way that the Spanish public had been taught to read between the lines as a result of this censorship, *Gilda* was understood to be far more risqué than it was (Labanyi, "Cinema and Mediation" 20). The review in *Imágenes* notes that long lines formed daily at the box office of the Coliseum theater where *Gilda* was first screened in Barcelona (Pascual 27). Antonio de Armenteras sums up the reasons for the film's popularity in his review for ¡*Hola*! on January 10, 1948, lamenting that "las tijeras depuradoras han suprimido la parte en la que la incitante estrella lucía más íntegramente sus naturales encantos (de Armenteras 14). In other words, Spanish audiences believed (as

a result of publicity, other rumors and a decade of reading between the censors' cuts) that Hayworth had performed a full strip in *Gilda*, and the mere thought of such a transgression was so titillating that it sparked outrage. Nearly two years after the film's initial release in Spain, the Archbishop of Granada prohibited its screening once again (Santos Olivera 4). In this way, the scandal of *Gilda* cycled through Spain, repeatedly breaking and re-establishing the country's Catholic sanctity via exhibition and prohibition.

Though oral histories point to the mild burlesque of "Put the Blame on Mame" as the most scandalous moment of the film, the archival research that I have completed also mentions Hayworth's dance in "Amado Mío" as arousing catcalls from the crowd. José de Juanes' review in *Arriba* (the official newspaper of the fascist Falange party) offers a succinct description:

> Tiene el film una bellísima canción, ya casi popular, 'Amado mío', que no pudo escucharse en toda su belleza la tarde del estreno por el esfuerzo de aquel sector vociferante a que antes aludíamos en demostrar que lo que menos les interesaba de la película era la película. (3)

It appears that her midriff-baring costume and thigh-high slit were equally as arousing as the possibility of a full strip.

If "Amado Mío" created catcalls in the moment, then "Put the Blame on Mame" sparked conversation about the film that continued until Spanish audiences were finally able to see its uncensored version once the dictatorship fell.[51] The "Amado Mío" sequence opens on a dimly lit long shot of Hayworth on a nightclub stage. The spotlight focuses on her upper body, as she raises her arms and begins a rumba. A tracking shot accompanies her as she walks to the front of the stage, keeping all of Hayworth in frame. Aside from a shot-reverse-shot of the man she sings to and two mid-shots of her singing, the

[51] Labanyi mentions that several of the interviewees "talked of their disappointment on seeing certain films uncensored later," commenting in a footnote that many had assumed that Hayworth had "taken off considerably more than the famous black glove" ("Cinema and Mediation" 20).

cinematographer maintains a long shot when Hayworth is dancing to capture her movements: hair, legs, hands and hips. Even in the mid-shots (which occur when Gilda is focused on singing and the only movement of her body is a side-to-side swaying), the viewer can see the undulations of her hips and waist. In contrast, when Gilda sings "Put the Blame on Mame" in the film's climax, the cinematography frames Hayworth's dance as a performance of eroticism. A high-angle establishing shot shows Hayworth sauntering onto the stage already brightly lit by a spotlight. A long shot frames her between two spectators, placing the viewer in the audience. The spectators and their table partially obstruct the camera's view of Gilda's dance, and the cinematographer does not try to capture all of her movements in a long-shot. There are no tracking shots; rather, when Gilda dances towards the camera swinging the infamous glove in her right hand, the static camera captures her in mid-shot and close-up.

The close-ups in particular (framing Hayworth's face, hair and bare shoulders) mark this dance sequence as different, as they suggest the nudity that Spanish spectators thought had formed a part of the scene. Alicia Fletcher argues that the suggestiveness of this "stripless striptease", combined with the various moments of the film where Hayworth's body "is filmed to appear as if she were nude," created the most iconic burlesque dance in cinematic history (41). These shots, combined with the censors dictate that Columbia Films, SA "déjese solo la primera parte del baile y suprímase las escenas violentas y achuladas" (which are most likely the moments after Gilda removes her necklace and is mobbed by men trying to remove her dress) means that the imagined female nude surged in the gap left by this excision (Expediente de Censura: *Gilda 03309*).

The suggestion of nudity is often more erotic than its actuality, given the ways in which hinting at sex allows people's imaginations to run wild in the strangest of ways. For this reason, Román Gubern is a little harsh in his criticism of censorship under the Franco

regime, specifically as regards *Gilda* and the strip-tease that Spaniards had imagined formed a part of the film:

> Este fenómeno de patología social, atribuyendo a una película unos cortes imaginarios, era en realidad producto y consecuencia de la severísima actuación de la censura, justamente acreedora de cuantas fantasías pudieran proyectarse sobre ella ("cadalso" 57).

It appears that censorship impeded the comprehension of subtext, so the original scandal of this film lay in the dancing woman's body, and in what was imagined that she did when the dancing was done.

Some Spanish reactions to Gilda speak to attempts to fetishize Hayworth's body. Gubern mentions a photographer who sold (in secret) nude images with Hayworth's face superimposed onto them ("Cadalso" 57). An anonymously written article in ¡*Hola*! magazine attests to vandalism and theft as signs of the country-wide obsession with Gilda:

> Miles de ciudadanos andan a estas horas a la busca y captura de fotografías de 'Gilda' o las traen ya cuidadosamente guardadas en su cartera. De vez en cuando, grupos de admiradores rompen una vitrina y se llevan las que encuentran. Cuando 'Gilda' canta en la pantalla, los públicos rompen en un aplauso. Y en alguna ciudad se dio el caso pintoresco de pasear por la calle una silueta de 'Gilda', como los toreros son llevados en hombros hasta el hotel en las tardes triunfales ("Hablemos de Gilda" 15).

A photograph of the time shows that part of the publicity campaign for *Gilda* included a larger-than-life-size poster (perhaps a cardboard cutout) of *Gilda* placed outside of the Palacio de la Música, the Madrid theater where the film premiered (Pastrana). Though the only evidence I have is the contemporaneous rumor published above, it stands to reason that this image might have been copied at other premieres around the country and then stolen by avaricious male fans like other artefacts of Hayworth's role as *Gilda*.

This fetishization of Hayworth's body led to some of the first objections to the film. On 25 December 1947, University of Zaragoza students Carlos Robles Picquer, Miguel Sánchez-Mazas Ferlosio and Tomás Lozano Escribano (joined by a multitude of others—at least 3 full pages crowded with signatures accompany their grievance) wrote a letter to the censorship board requesting that screenings of *Gilda* be immediately suspended, given that "la actuación de la primera actriz Rita Hayworth constituye en nuestro sentir, la más descarnada muestra de la inmoralidad proyectada desde el 1º de Abril de 1939 en las pantallas españolas" (Robles Picquer, et al. 1). They go on to exclaim that "la sensualidad, los movimientos, los trajes, las frases, las escenas, las incitaciones, en suma, a los más bajos instintos humanos suponen en sí un rotundo pecado de escándalo y un ataque clarísimo contra las más elementales normas cristianas" (1). They attack Gilda as a hypersexualized sinner (who nonetheless gets rewarded at the end of the film) and blame her for corrupting Spanish spectators, "en su mayoría varones de todas las edades" (1).

Though these young men do not mention Hayworth's Spanish heritage, I posit that it nonetheless influenced the ways in which a Spanish audience might have read the film. Given that the censorship process seems to have removed the subtext of the film, and Spanish audiences were quick to add their own interpretations, I propose that censorship tried and failed to flatten what Adrienne McLean labels Hayworth's three-dimensionality as a star. McLean has argued that

> Hayworth in *Gilda* was never only a leg, a gown, a face, or hair; she was always a dancing human being whose three-dimensionality is presented to us kinetically as part of her star charisma and whose labor as a performer in the public sphere is foregrounded and meaningful and powerful as such. (158)

Hayworth was fetishized and her image "flattened" in Spain in some regards, but the very scandalousness of *Gilda* (and by extension, of the half-Spanish actress who played her) constructed a different sort of three-dimensionality for Hayworth in Spain, one that relied on a narrative of her betrayal of and re-encounter with her Spanish heritage.

Both the scandal surrounding *Gilda* and the fact that Hayworth had Spanish family helped 'nationalise' her figure for Spanish audiences in a variety of ways. As Vernon notes:

> Gilda's arrival on Spanish screens in 1947 figures as an event that was to mark the collective memory of generations of Spaniards, although less perhaps for what was portrayed on screen than for the reaction it provoked among the regime's most influential factions (49).

Thus, Hayworth's figure was 'nationalized' as a symbol of scandal and transgression under a regime which did not permit much of either. I would like to suggest that Hayworth's Spanish heritage contributed to reading her image as transgressive. Though born of a Spanish father, Hayworth did not appear to comport herself as a Spanish woman should (submissive and self-abnegating) either in her onscreen roles or in her personal life (working as an actress, marrying and divorcing repeatedly). The ways in which she flaunted the expectations of Spanish womanhood contributed to even more slippages in her star discourse in Spain. Hayworth's star image in Spain functions less as "ethnic and therefore American" and more as that of a prodigal daughter—always already Spanish—first rejecting and then seeking her roots.

If Hayworth had rejected her roots in her make-over and over-sexualized film performances, then events in Hayworth's life conspired to have her re-encounter them. In August of 1948, Hayworth and her then-lover Ali Khan tried to escape the French paparazzi

by road-tripping through Spain. Hayworth had met Ali Khan in France, and the two were trying to keep their affair out of the press, given that both were still legally married. In Spain, the two found a vigilant press corps who stalked them across the country, but who could not publish anything untoward regarding their travels. The few items that did get published at the time note that Rita Hayworth was traveling under the name of Mrs. Orson Welles; that she was accompanied in her travels by Prince Ali Khan and that they stayed in separate rooms; and that they stayed to themselves and refused interviews.[52] A reader well-trained in scrutinizing censored news would have known that the two were having an affair, but with no photographic evidence of the two together (and with the news buried in the cinemas sections), such suppositions remained in the realm of rumor—a powerful realm under a regime of censorship, to be sure, but one that allowed the couple plausible deniability.[53]

Barbara Leaming relates several incidents from Hayworth's first visit to Spain in 1948, including a tale of Rita and Ali trying to escape the mobs by moving on to Toledo, a plan that backfired when they decided to attend a bullfight: "At the gorgeous sight of her, the band began to play 'Put the Blame on Mame,' as the crowd chanted, 'Gilda! Gilda!' To them, Rita's presence was a far better spectacle than the actual bullfights" (Leaming 161). Khan's chauffeur and bodyguard Emrys Williams does not recount a band, but he

---

[52] *ABC Sevilla* tracked Hayworth's travels through Spain in August of 1948, publishing on 20 August "Rita Hayworth ha pasado por Madrid" (8), on 21 August "La famosa actriz cinematográfica Rita Hayworth, en Sevilla" (12), and on 24 August "Rita Hayworth, en Portugal" (5).

[53] Rumor, of course, is one of the "tactics" mentioned by DeCerteau in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Much of the power of celebrity and cinema in Franco Spain comes precisely from the use of cinema as a tactic, and the rumors that developed around stars in Spain retain much of this power as a result. I will expound on this more when I turn my dissertation into a book.

does claim: “We were just sitting there when all of a sudden people started whispering ‘Gilda, Gilda’. Then the whole crowd took up the chant. We hadn’t been there an hour; the crowd forgot all about the bullfight and the bull, all they wanted was to get close to her” (Kobal 244). In a country where bullfighting was widely proclaimed as the national festival/sport, the fact that a Hollywood star (who was not trying to attract attention) distracted the crowd so much as to nearly incite a riot indicates the strength of *Gilda*’s popularity and demonstrates the force of the affective attachment that the Spanish public held for Hayworth herself.

Note how the crowd chanted the name Gilda instead of Rita, or even Margarita. The elision of Hayworth and her most famous role is unsurprising (throughout her life, Hayworth would claim that “Men fall in bed with Gilda and they wake up with me”). Yet, given what we now know about how the scandal of *Gilda* came about in Spain, and of what the character and film represented in terms of resistance to authority and hierarchy, one can imagine two readings of this near-riot. On the one hand, the popularity of *Gilda* signals that Spaniards mobbed her much in the way that any crowd of fans had. Emrys Williams states that in trying to escape the crowd at the bullfight, “We [Williams, Khan and Hayworth] were nearly torn to pieces, we were sometimes carried off our feet, but eventually with the help of those Spanish guards we did get away” (Williams 154). As biographers Morella and Epstein state: “How many times had she found herself surrounded by a huge crowd which behaved as one person, with a solitary aim: to touch her, to take a souvenir of the experience, a button from her blouse, a thread from her skirt—anything one could reach out and grab, including her hair!” (Morella and Epstein 120). As a star,

Hayworth is an object so desired that it literally threatens her physical existence. On the other hand, the scandal of *Gilda* led to widespread destruction of posters and movie screens via ink-throwing. As an international star of Spanish descent whose claim to fame in the country was of a transgressive nature, Hayworth was also an object so reviled that it threatened her physical image.

In *Modern Spain 1875-1980*, Raymond Carr states that "screens showing Rita Hayworth were pelted with ink bottles by Falangists as a protest against the exhibition of a corroding libertarianism" (Carr 164). Carr does not specify which of Hayworth's performances sparked such a negative reaction; however, Kathleen Vernon reads his commentary as pertaining solely to the screening of *Gilda* (50). Veiled comments in newspaper reviews and documents from the censors' file in the Archivo General de la Administración support Vernon's claim by suggesting that *Gilda* was the only Hayworth movie to have caused such a vociferous reaction.

There is something affective in the act of throwing ink at the image of a person's face. It demonstrates the hatred for what she represents as a Hollywood star. Throwing ink at the screen was a corporeal way of engaging with the star image in a way that expressed the rage, hatred and contempt that members of the Falange might have felt towards America and towards those who consumed American films as part of an escapist culture.[54] It shows contempt for those who would want to watch her image by denying them the

[54] In 1951, a Franco supporter would write to US Ambassador Stanton Griffis and claim that "Until recently, I thought that Americans were a people of little worth, unscrupulous and ingrate and typified by a collection of press correspondents" (Gómez Caviró 1) I would imagine that those same words—little worth, unscrupulous and ingrate—were felt by the ink-throwing Falangists towards Hayworth to justify their actions.

opportunity to view it, thus punishing those who would indulge in the culture of escapism provided by cinema under the Franco regime. Finally, it is a corporeal manifestation of anger at the theater that would exhibit the film, as well as an economic disruption that hinders the theater's ability to properly screen their product. Ink thrown at a movie screen completely ruins the screen. It costs money and materials to replace such an investment, both of which were lacking in Franco Spain. Via the act of ink-throwing, the Falange's reaction reveals a different affective relationship that some members of the Spanish public developed with Hayworth (via *Gilda*), one marked by disgust. *Gilda* caused a scandal in Spain because the film let forth a deeply emotional reaction amongst the Spanish public that alternated between desire and disgust; apathy is not the appropriate affective response to scandal.

This deeply emotional response is perhaps a result of the ways in which Hayworth's performance in *Gilda* destabilized notions of Spanish national identity and female morality. The anonymous author of "Gilda nos habla de Rita Hayworth" (published in *Imágenes* in February of 1948) claims to be typing words whispered to him from Gilda's spirit, such as: "Y creo un deber decir que yo soy igual que Rita Hayworth… pero Rita Hayworth no tiene nada que ver conmigo…" (11). In this way, the author acquiesces to the trend in Spanish popular culture under Franco to identify stars with their major characters (Labanyi "Cinema and Mediation" 16). At the same time, he teases out the difference between Hayworth and her starring role, distancing the Spanish-born Hayworth from the oversexed Gilda.

WHITENESS IN HAYWORTH, WHITENESS IN *HISPANIDAD*

The tension of Hayworth as half-Spanish, half-Anglo defined her star text in Hollywood, and it also drew a unique boundary in the processes of racialization that underpinned the Franco regime. Hayworth's Spanish pedigree (and international renown) made her a popular figure, but her American-ness (and glamor) also made her a foreign and cautionary tale. Her familial connections (bloodlines) and star text in Hollywood illustrate the layers of whiteness at work in the creation of Rita Hayworth. As Adrienne McLean notes: "One of the most significant paradoxes of Rita Hayworth in any incarnation is that she can be read as ethnic or American but also as ethnic and *therefore* American" (47, emphasis in original). Hayworth's star discourse in Spain, however, exposes the flexibility of whiteness across cultural contexts, as her Anglicized image is reinvested with Andalusian imagery. Hayworth's whiteness sets her apart in Spain, but it still serves as a canvas upon which to project her Andalusian heritage. As such, it reveals how *Hispanidad* privileged certain types of whiteness.

When I talk about the flexibility of whiteness across cultural contexts, I am consciously using critical race theory and Eva Woods' idea of a "racial Spanishization," or "the way that strategies of coercion converged in the imperialist drive to protect an authentic, unitary national identity while simultaneously participating in the larger European project of capitalist modernity" (*White Gypsies* xi-xii). That said, I am also elaborating on Steve Garner's arguments regarding whiteness as a "marked racialized identity whose precise meanings derive from national racial regimes" (Garner 2). The Franco regime may not have explicitly focused on race in its propaganda in the way that

the Nazis did with their emphasis on the Aryan race; nonetheless, the regime's discourse of *Hispanidad* promulgated a specific form of white Hispanic identity. This is why María Félix can be 'othered' in Spain in spite of her work in the Spanish film industry, while Hayworth was expected to conform to the expectations of Spanish femininity, though she had little knowledge of the country or its language.

Though the Franco regime denied racial difference and generally did not employ terms like white or black, as Woods elaborates, "notions of whiteness were safeguarded by constant references to *raza* and *lo castizo*" (*White Gypsies* 7). *Castizo* identity (*casticismo*) stretched back to the medieval religious divisions between Muslims, Jews and Christians on the Peninsula, and specifically referred to the Spanish racial purity borne of this originary miscegenation, one untainted by foreign (*afrancesado*) or Gypsy (*gitano*) morals, ideologies and characteristics. Woods goes on to note that Imperio Argentina's role in the film *Morena Clara* would come to represent the Hispanic ideal of "a white face with dark-brown to black hair" (*White Gypsies* 27). The *morena clara* was the ideal feminine Hispanic phenotype because it reinforced popular conceptions of *lo castizo* and the whitened Gypsy as white Hispanic national identity.

If, as Eva Woods Peiró has argued, a white Gypsy fostered a "productive liminality" and "performative uncertainty" (*White Gypsies* 25), then Hayworth's unwitting performance as the accidentally whitest Gypsy (thanks to her make-over) led to some interesting assertions in her star discourse in Spain. As Woods Peiró argues:

> White Gypsy heroines penetrated the heart of the conversation on Spain's nationalism and its place in global modernity: to be modern meant manipulating

> hybridity by assimilating racial difference or by excluding it from the definition of Spanishness. (*White Gypsies* 24)

The racial lines of Spanish nationalism under the Franco regime were blurred most in Hayworth's star text, as her whitened image fostered the conditions for her exclusion even as it allowed for her assimilation under her Gypsy heritage. William Anthony Nericcio and Guillermo Nericcio García argue that "the question of Rita's hairline was really a question of ethnicity," noting that under her Anglicized face floated a lineage that could have been Latina, Spanish, or Gypsy (273-274). It is via her marginalized Gypsy lineage that Hayworth is assimilated into Spain.

For instance, Hayworth's Andalusian heritage asserts itself in the March 1948 *Fotógramas* article entitled "Rita no nos quiere," written by Marta Marina Cisternas. Cisternas gives a short, yet personal, biography of Margarita Carmen Cansino and her transition to Rita Hayworth. The title links the author with her Spanish readers with her use of 'nos', and Cisternas suggests throughout the article that Hayworth's disinterest in her Spanish heritage intimates a lack of interest in her Spanish fans, implying that she does not deserve to be admired in Spain as a result, and even subtly suggesting that Spaniards should not like her, given that she does not like them: "Yo que sé que en España está obteniendo un éxito fabuloso la película *Gilda*, me imagino que a los españoles no les va a gustar ni pizca el saber que Rita no les quiere" (Cisternas 10). Yet throughout the article, Cisternas specifically uses folkloric words to describe Hayworth's heritage as Andalusian to a Spanish audience. She at once ties Hayworth to Spain and marginalizes her.

She begins with "La Margarita Cansino que yo concocí", demarcating the author's privileged personal position of having met Hayworth back when she was still Cansino, "gitana de sangre y de corazón," and of the author's ability to attest to Hayworth's Hispanic heritage (10). She details the changes to Hayworth's image (erring in where and why Hayworth cut her hair and dyed it ash blond), commenting that "Tal como la he descrito es en la actualidad aquella bellísima bailarina que respondía al nombre de Margarita y que ahora parece querer olvidar hasta el recuerdo de sus primeros pasos y de su herencia" (10). An unacceptable sin gets elaborated on through the rest of the article, as she details how a worker of Columbia Pictures in Spain had sent Hayworth a dictionary of the Spanish language ("valioso compendio del dialecto gitano, publicado en el siglo XVIII"), but that Hayworth's rejection of the dictionary and her refusal to speak Spanish indicate her disgust for the language: "Los que alguna vez han intentado dirigirle la palabra en la lengua de Cervantes, se han encontrado con que la actriz responde con monosílabos o sencillamente expresa su disgusto y casi desprecio por dicho idioma" (10). Hayworth is disgusted by and refuses to speak Spanish, from which a reader could infer that she is disgusted by and rejects Spain.

This article constructs Hayworth's rejection of a Spanish dictionary as a rejection of the Spanish language, and therefore a rejection of Spain as a country and of Spaniards as individuals (the 'les' of the article and 'nos' of the title).[55] A more charitable reading might ask "What high school dropout wants to receive a hundred-year old foreign language

[55] And when asked "¿Y tu sangre cañí?," Hayworth apparently responds that her mother was French-Irish and she was born in New York.

dictionary as a present?"[56] Nonetheless, in representing Hayworth as a star who has rejected her Spanish heritage, Cisternas clearly tries to align author and (Spanish) readers against Hayworth, even as she exoticizes Hayworth's Spanish identity by repeating terms such as *gitana* and *cañí*. It very much builds an "us" (we who speak Spanish and take pride in that heritage) versus "them" (Hayworth and even her fans) mentality that tries to turn Hayworth's contempt for the Spanish language into Spanish contempt for her, in order to destroy the idolization (or idealization) of Hayworth in Spain.

Running through the *Gilda* scandal, as well as Hayworth and Khan's 1948 trip to Spain is an understanding that Hayworth's anglicized body nonetheless contains traces of her Spanish heritage, and that it is up to the Spanish press to mine her image for whatever Spanish-ness remains in her. Hayworth was not the only sexy Hollywood femme fatale at the time who showed a bit of leg, but she was the only one who was half-Spanish and who still had family in the country. This also meant that she was the only Hollywood star for whom the tensions of her star discourse played out in Spain in more personal ways, such as in the interview above. In 1948, *Semana* published an interview with Hayworth's grandfather, wherein he was asked if his granddaughter was a sevillana, and why she goes by a different name. His response is illuminating. First, he claims: "Ni lo es ni conoce España. Nació en Nueva York. Habla el español de oírnoslo a nosotros," but later in the article, he states, "Ella es de nuestra raza, una sevillana típica, morena como el azabache. Ahora, que se tiñe el pelo de rubia, tiene la frente estrecha, pero se depila lo menos un par

[56] Recall that at the age of 13, Hayworth's father began having her dance as his partner in night clubs in Tijuana (see Leaming 16, Kobal 43-47, Morella and Epstein 19-21).

de dedos. Total, que cualquiera la conoce...” (Gómez Bajuelo 29). The changes that she has made to her appearance make her recognizable the world over but cannot fully hide the heritage of a typical Sevillian woman, dark as jet.

Notice how one of pieces of evidence that Antonio Cansino provides as proof that his granddaughter is not Spanish is that she only speaks the language from having heard her extended family speak it. The question of whether or not Hayworth spoke Spanish deeply influences the image presented of her by the Spanish press, as we saw in “Rita no nos quiere.” In March of 1948, she is represented as having rejected Spain by refusing to speak the language, and in August of that same year, her grandfather defends her as a heritage speaker. By the end of 1950, however, Hayworth’s relationship with the language had changed again, according to the Spanish press. This is unsurprising in stardom, as celebrity images morph over time. That said, Cesar del Arco uses similar imagery and symbols as Cisternas used in March 1948 to different effect in his December 1950 article from *Primer Plano*, “Rita Hayworth quiere aprender a bailar flamenco en Sevilla”. Though del Arco focuses primarily on Hayworth and Khan’s relationship (and even references their rendezvous in Spain in late summer 1948), he nonetheless emphasizes the Spanish language and Hayworth’s Spanish heritage. Specifically, he states that Hayworth speaks to the reporters in “francés, salpicado con frases en español,” and mentions that her father’s family was from Seville twice.

Let’s think of how affects surge in language specifically. Ahmed finds language to be the primary site of affect, as affect gathers and builds through the repetitions of specific linguistic signs. But I’m also thinking about the identity politics wrapped up in one’s own

language use, and about the excitement and desire for connection that we find when we encounter someone who speaks our language. In the Spanish press under Franco, we have seen commentary about whether or not a star can speak (or is learning to speak) Spanish, and this commentary serves to subtly align certain star images with the values of the regime. If a star speaks Spanish (or is Catholic, or even wants to learn Spanish), such an act is held up as a sign of their amenability to Spain (and thus the regime). Thus, Hayworth rejecting the dictionary and refusing to speak Spanish has morphed into her having acquired the ability to speak some Spanish as a child from hearing her family talk. Del Arco's article then reinforced the perception of Hayworth as a Spanish speaker by illustrating her willingness to pepper her French with Spanish phrases.

In addition to language, Spanish dancing is another point of tension in Hayworth's star discourse in Spain. McLean notes that Hayworth cut her eye-teeth dancing with her father in Tijuana nightclubs, and Leaming remarks that her grandfather gave her her first pair of castanets at age 3. Dancing formed part and parcel of her star labor, even when the dances she performed were more Broadway musical soft-shoe and less heel-clicking flamenco. Yet again, in Spain, Hayworth's rejection or embrace of Spanish dancing reflects the Spanish press's rejection or embrace of her. Cisternas comments that Hayworth, "aquella bellísima bailarina que respondía al nombre de Margarita y que ahora parece querer olvidar hasta el recuerdo de sus primeros pasos y de su procedencia," has forgotten not just her heritage, but specifically her *Spanish dancing* heritage. The article is accompanied by one photo of Rita dancing as Terpsichore in *La diosa de la danza* (*Down to Earth*). Though Hayworth is dressed in a Hollywood costume that is supposed to mimic

a toga, with layers of organza and chiffon draping off one shoulder and a bodice decorated with a meander design to denote antiquity, her body language evokes flamenco, with her erect posture, left hand elevating her skirt to reveal her knees and right hand extended out in front. The author (or editors) could have included any glamor shot of Hayworth with this article, however, by including an image of Hayworth that aligns as closely as possible with the image of a Spanish flamenco dancer, the distance between Hayworth and her Spanish roots is highlighted.

In contrast, in her December 1950 visit to Spain with Khan, Hayworth attended a flamenco *tablao* in Seville, which is where del Arco interviewed her. He cites her twice as stating that she wants to return to Seville to learn how to dance flamenco (thrice if you include the article's title). Finally, he includes *eight* photos of Hayworth dressed in a pure-white *traje de volantes*, surrounded by Andalusian guitar players and flamenco dancers. Though the text of the article implies a spontaneity to Hayworth's garb — "le saltó su alma andaluza … y pidió un traje de flamenca, una bata de cola, blanca como el alba" — the images and their captions work to demonstrate Hayworth as Spanish (del Arco 4). A close-up photo shows Hayworth smiling up at 'el maestro' Enrique Jiménez, "El Cojo", and is captioned: "Risa flamenca de Rita, risa folklórica, que hace temblar las flores del moño, como gitana alegre, como nieta efectiva de ese abuelo que vive en Castilleja" (del Arco 5). Under another photo showing Hayworth dancing, he writes the caption: "¡Y olé mi niña! Ya no queda de Hayworth ni la 't'. Es solamente la sangre que se llame Margarita Carmen la que reviente en estas sevillanas que observan el marqués de Asacena (sic) y Manolo

Sánchez Tirado" (del Arco 5). By dancing flamenco, Margarita Carmen Cansino is reborn and proves her superiority over Hayworth.

By placing Hayworth in Spain and connecting her blood to flamenco dancing, these sorts of articles work to incorporate the whitewashed Hayworth image into the Spanish imaginary, but only insofar as her image is ethnically connected to the most marginalized racial group in Spain, with her *sangre cañí* (Cisternas), her *corazón gitano* (Cisternas), and her *alma andaluza* (Del Arco). And yet, she was also marginalized in other ways. While married to Ali Khan, she becomes a "princesa de la India" ("Horas de Rita Hayworth en Madrid" 6). In addition, there is the distinct possibility that her Spanish Gypsy family had descended from *conversos*, or Jews who had converted to Catholicism under the Inquisition, given the proximity of Cansino to Cansinos, a widely known name of Jewish descent, thanks to the figure of Rafael Cansinos Assens (Resina "Iberian Modalities" 119).[57] Falangist commentator Asterisco calls Hayworth "Margarita Cansinos" when discussing her marriage to Ali Khan ("Gilda se casa" 4). Given that this typo is repeated three times in the article, either the author was unaware of her original name, or was subtly postulating a *converso* descent for a woman on the verge of marrying a Muslim prince.

Hayworth's star image reached peak saturation in Spain around 1950, thanks to her marriage to Ali Khan and their visits to Spain. For all of the hatred shown by members of

[57] Resina notes that "Although Cansinos-Assens was raised as a Catholic, his father's surname, Cansinos, made him aware of a Jewish descent, which led him to convert to Judaism. After the Civil War, during the Franco regime, his identity as a Jewish convert damaged his professional career" ("Iberian Modalities" 119). In addition, Jeffrey S. Malka has written a book on Sephardic genealogy, and includes several printed sources that list both Cansino and Cansinos as Spanish surnames that indicate a *converso* descent. This is not to be taken as proof of *converso* descent, per se, but rather of proof of the rumor of *converso* descent.

the Falange towards Hayworth's image, and for all the attraction that *Gilda* held over Spanish audiences, the furor over Hayworth nonetheless sparked praise which the Spanish press heaped on Hayworth while she was in Spain. The tensions in her star image played out more strongly in National-Catholic Spain than they did even in the US, at a moment when Hayworth's whiteness could read as Hispanic, yet her Anglicization and her Andalusian heritage was still tantamount to being 'other'. For this reason, perhaps, we see in Del Arco's otherwise favorable treatment of Hayworth, the desire to eliminate the Hayworth, so that only Cansino remains. The fact that she can speak Spanish (even if it's only just a few phrases mixed in with her French) and her desire to learn flamenco demonstrate her acceptance of her heritage and foster a bond between Hayworth and Spain. By 1950, once the scandal over *Gilda* had passed, it was ok for Spaniards to love her, because, after all, she loved Spain so much that she was willing to return to her Spanish dancing roots and use the language she had once rejected.

Hayworth's Anglicized body was celebrated as Hispanic in the Spanish press, even as it served as the site of competing views regarding the acceptance and publicity of immorality and scandal under the Franco regime. By resuscitating Hayworth's Hispanic genetic heritage in order to 'nationalize' her for a Spanish audience, the Spanish press helped foster an affective tie between Spaniards and Hayworth that further strengthened the power of her celebrity persona within Spain (and augmented the ferocity of the scandal surrounding her image in the country). Hayworth's success as a star reinforced a model of idealized femininity that struggled to conform to the domestic and maternal expectations of hegemonic femininity, both in the US and in Spain. Nonetheless, the ways in which

censorship manipulated Hayworth's star image in Spain reveals how the Spanish press took advantage of Hayworth's whitewashed celebrity persona to harness the affective power that she carried in Spain and promote National-Catholic values. Though Hayworth had "overcome" her Hispanic heritage within her Hollywood star image, a deep pride nonetheless ran through much of the press commentary in Spain written about her. Rita Hayworth may have denied her Spanish heritage in order to achieve her stardom—a fact that some members of the Spanish press criticized—but she did nonetheless succeed. That success, spun correctly, reinforced the nationalism promoted by Franco propaganda (even if her actual star image did not). In the case of Hayworth, familial lineage, the Spanish language, her presence within Spain and her heritage of Spanish dancing reinforced her Spanish birthright (and indeed, rewrote her denial of said birthright) in articles written by the Spanish press under Franco.

Part Conclusions

In this part, I have endeavored to demonstrate how complicated racial dynamics undergirded the star discourses of María Félix and Rita Hayworth in Spain under the Franco regime between 1947 and 1952. Both women played into certain racial stereotypes already at work in the country: those forged by transatlantic imperialism and those forged in the Reconquest and the centuries-long habitation of the Roma in the Iberian Peninsula, along with their failure to assimilate into the Spanish nation. Though I did not have room to address the roles of these women as wives and mothers, their children do appear as a part of their star discourse during this time period (especially for Hayworth, whose daughter Yasmin was born in 1949). For Félix and Hayworth, children are simply a signifier of a femininity aligned with traditional gendered expectations for women, which is why I chose to focus my analysis on other aspects of their star discourses.

In *The Neutral*, Roland Barthes argues for a critical practice comprised of "an inventory of shimmers, of nuances, of states, of changes (*pathé*)" (77). The textures of life are not fully understood through meta-discourses, but rather comprise liminal moments that all too easily disappear unless we are able to draw our eyes to them. Until now, María Félix's participation in the Spanish cinematic industry has been accepted as simply that of an international star under contract, rather than having been interrogated to try to further understand the traditional power dynamics that Spanish producers sought to reinforce through co-productions. The attraction of Rita Hayworth in Spain can be dismissed as simply that of the popularity of yet another Hollywood star, rather than being understood to reflect questions and assumptions about how to reconcile her actions with her Spanish heritage. Racial discourses and the attitudes that they fostered served to safeguard affective moments of attraction and repulsion in the star discourses of these women. The affective

shimmers surrounding heritage and empire bestowed a place in the racial hierarchy of the Franco regime onto the representations of Félix and Hayworth in Spain, whether the two women fit neatly within that hierarchy or not. As we will see in the next part, however, not all foreign stars were suited to it.

PART 3

COSTUME AND CONSUMPTION IN THE STAR DISCOURSES OF CARMEN MIRANDA AND AVA GARDNER IN SPAIN

In contrast to the domestic/maternal divide in Joan Crawford and Dolores del Río and the imperial/Iberian racial discourses at work in María Félix and Rita Hayworth's star images in Spain, Carmen Miranda and Ava Gardner represented two facets of cultural consumption under the Franco regime. Specifically, Miranda's Bahía-based exoticism presented an image of Latin America so completely foreign to Spanish expectations of the continent that her star discourse in Spain is a flash in the pan, fading as soon as it arrives. On the other hand, Ava Gardner's willingness to participate in the consumption of romanticized Spanish folklore (bullfights, bullfighters and flamenco) prioritized under Franco fell in line with Spaniards' own consumption of *españoladas* and popular Spanish customs.

Autochthonous Iberian folk practices were subsumed under Franco propaganda as a referent of a unique Hispanic identity and were exploited propagandistically both inside and outside the country. If discourses of race and ethnicity created clear social divisions that marked internal and external enemies of the regime, then folkloric traditions provided evidence of an authentic Hispanic identity originating in ancient Iberian customs. As Xosé M. Núñez Seixas argues: "La tradición local fue considerada por muchos franquistas como el depósito más auténtico del pasado nacional, la reserva del espíritu popular y por tanto base de su regeneración autoritaria" ("La región y lo local" 127). This emphasis on folklore as the basis of the rebirth of the Spanish nation under Franco led to its politicization and exploitation as a tool of regime propaganda, as another pillar in the discourse of *Hispanidad*.

Ramiro de Maeztu dedicates a chapter in *Defensa de la Hispanidad* to how regional cultural customs across the Iberian Peninsula created Spaniards as equals in heart and soul, in spite of their social class. Though De Maeztu cites the different regional dialects of the Peninsula, he does so with the express purpose of subsuming them under one hegemonic Spanish identity (67-68). This centralism originated in the study of folklore—specifically the sorts of folklore that were allowed to be researched, written about and promoted under the regime—as the ideologies of the Franco regime led to the creation of what Hobsbawm has referred to as invented traditions, or a praxis that attempts to "establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (1). As mentioned in the Introduction, the "suitable historic past" prioritized by the Franco regime referenced centralization, the Imperial tradition and the unification of Spain under the Catholic Kings. More democratic aspects of Spanish history and governance, such as local rule (*fueros*) or the First and Second Republics, were denied and cast as heretical.

Though the *Sección Femenina* (the women's part of the Falangist party) bolstered the Francoist gender discourse by fostering the ideology of women's work as relegated to the domestic sphere, its role expanded in 1938 to include a cultural component, specifically "the conservation of 'authentic Spanish folklore'" (Stehrenberger "Folklore, Nation and Gender" 231). This cultural component cohered around what is now known as the *Coros y Danzas de España*, an all-female dancing organization and exhibition group. According to Stehrenberger, the dances that the *Sección Femenina* promoted in the *Coros y Danzas* were not actually "authentic", but rather, had been altered by removing any vulgarity that may have formed a part of the source material ("Los Coros y Danzas" 312). The *Coros y Danzas* functioned as internal propaganda by providing mediated "proof" of an authentic Spanish heritage founded on regional difference within the Iberian Peninsula, even as they reinforced the central government and the exploitation of regional folklore as part of a

broader, hegemonic Spanish national identity. Local groups would compete against each other on regional and national stages, thus solidifying the spread of Francoist-promoted folklore as the only true Spanish folklore.

The *Coros y Danzas* did not only form internal propaganda aimed at unifying the Spanish state under one folkloric history; they also served as an international cultural diplomatic group that allowed the Franco regime to strengthen ties with Latin American nations. Carmen Ortiz argues that

> From 1942, when the first national contest of song and dance troupes was held, until 1948, the Women's Part devoted itself to internal work, focused on the training of members and students. Evidently there were no possibilities of foreign projection. But in 1948 circumstances changed and allowed a timid international opening of the regime. (491)

Beginning in 1948, the *Coros y Danzas* would form a potent weapon in the arsenal of soft diplomacy utilized by the Franco regime to curry international favor. The first trip to Argentina, "permitió también a la SF (*Sección Femenina*) restablecer el contacto con los exiliados y emigrantes españoles, así como forjar nuevos lazos culturales con los en su día súbditos del Imperio español" (Holguín 519). The female dancers of the *Coros y Danzas* brought to life the social ideals of suffering, abnegation and hard work so fondly espoused by regime propaganda, and in the combination of their dances and regional costumes, internal and external audiences could perceive the unification of Spain under the regime, even in spite of its regional variations, or as Stehrenberger describes: "un estado en el que las diferencias regionales habían de tornarse folclore y, por lo tanto, políticamente inofensivas" ("Los Coros y Danzas" 315).

Promulgating folkloric customs allowed for the propagandistic channeling of affect under the Franco regime. As Carmen Ortiz has argued, "Folklore presents itself as the most direct, emotional, and nonrational way of appropriating the 'style' of a community and, as

such, a privileged form of mediation" (481). Nostalgia for folklore provided the "emotional legitimacy" of nationhood that Benedict Anderson found so important to the basis of national identity. Consumption of folkloric objects privileged by the regime consolidated national identity around certain invented traditions, even as it reinforced national pride and belonging. Folkloric costumes and customs served as another way to mediate Spanish national identity under the Franco regime, and served as objects wherein circulated national pride.

Though the *Coros y Danzas* aimed to promote regional, folkloric dances (such as *jotas*, *boleros*, *romerías*, and *seguidillas*), they purposefully excluded the one style of regional dance now best associated with Spain: flamenco. According to Stehrenberger, the principal aim of the *Coros y Danzas* was "to fight the presumed contamination of Spanish folklore by 'pseudo-flamenco' and by 'modern music'" ("Folklore, Nation and Gender" 231). As mentioned in Part Two, in spite of the hypervisibility of aspects of Gypsy culture in Spain (such as flamenco and bullfighting), actual Gypsy populations have long suffered from the effects of forced assimilation and marginalization, and only the whitewashing of these cultural elements permitted their visibility throughout the rest of the country and world. According to Sandie Holguín,

> Mientras que en los primeros años del franquismo la prensa del régimen no prestaba atención a gran parte de los bailaores flamencos, por considerar que recordaban a una España corrompida por el vicio y el mercantilismo modernos, a finales de la década de 1950 estos eran promocionados junto a otros espectáculos 'folclóricos' como los Coros y Danzas de la Sección Femenina. (526)

The hypervisibility of flamenco and Gypsy culture only continued in Spain under the Franco regime because it ultimately proved useful in attracting foreign tourists. As we saw in Chapter 4, even Rita Hayworth attended flamenco *tablaos* and bullfights during her two

sojourns in Spain, and the burgeoning Spanish tourist industry of the 1950s would cohere around these two traditions.

According to Carmen Ortiz, Franco propaganda originally subsumed everything under a Castilian identity, specifically that of the Castilian peasant (489). Nevertheless, Andalusian imagery and culture frequently led to great wealth and fame under the regime, along with recognition by Franco. The death of bullfighter Manolete in 1947 evoked national mourning, and *copletistas* such as Imperio Argentina, Estrellita Castro and Concha Piquer were lauded by the regime and received in the Pardo by el Caudillo (Peñasco 16). According to Eva Woods Peiró, "Andalusian musical comedy films became unconditionally associated with Francoism as a medium for advancing a political cause" (*White Gypsies* 211). Under the Franco regime, the hypervisibility of Andalusian culture within Spanish culture came to equate the two.

One of the ways in which Andalusian culture was popularized mediatically in Spain was through the spread of the *españolada*, or melodramatic musical comedy based in Andalusian customs, themes, and musical stylings. The *españolada* provided the most direct escapist pleasure for cinematic audiences under the regime, even as it indirectly celebrated the "wrong" stereotypes of *pícaros* and *gitanas* under the regime (Triana Toribio 41). In his analysis of the genres that comprised Spanish cinema during the 1940s, José Enrique Monterde notes that

> La máxima expresión de la 'española' y posiblemente el ejemplo más autóctono de cine de géneros vendría ofrecido por lo que denominaríamos el 'cine folclórico', muy marcadamente situado en ambiente andaluces, estructurado por lo general en función del cante y el baile más o menos aflamencados y colocados al servicio—o aprovechando el tirón comercial—de las grandes tonadilleras del momento, como Concha Piquer, Lola Flores o Estrellita Castro. (238)

Note that the women Monterde mentions are all *copletistas* who had been favored by the regime. The *españolada* also served as yet another cinematic mediation of folklore, though

the *españolada* was not the sort of folklore privileged by most Franquista intellectuals. In fact, many of these intellectuals decried the continued popularity of the *españolada* genre, blaming foreigners for misunderstanding the country (Triana Toribio 43).[58]

As the Franco regime entered its second decade, however, foreign tourists had no opportunity to misunderstand a country that used Andalusian imagery to sell itself internationally. As the demands of the tourist industry increased beginning in the 1950s, Andalusian culture came to predominate the image of Spain that was used abroad to promote the country and the regime. As Sandie Holguín notes:

> Aunque en muchas ocasiones a las élites españolas y a los promotores de la cultura oficial no les gustaba el flamenco, porque apelaba a los 'bajos' instintos de las masas, al final su singular atractivo comercial convenció a quienes detentaban el poder de que debían subirse a esa máquina de hacer dinero. (522)

The reliance on flamenco and bullfighting to sell Spain abroad (especially to North American and Northern European tourists) signaled a willingness to tap into patterns of consumption and to simplify the signification of Spain in the foreigners' mind, so as to better accommodate tourist consumption.

Tourist consumption happened via costume and spectatorship, as visual observation of Spanish regional costumes guided the sorts of imagery that the regime used to promote the country. In fact, as Neal Rosendorf argues, tourism shaped regime priorities, and Franco himself would foster the efforts to develop US tourism in Spain, with "promotion expenditures eventually reaching many millions of dollars" (14). In the same decade that the Franco regime was increasing its efforts to attract foreign tourists, a tourist boom steered the popularity of flamenco under the regime:

---

[58] The *españolada* genre continues to be popular in Spain to this day, as the contemporary *españolada* *Ocho apellidos vascos* (2014) holds the record for highest grossing film in Spanish history (Belinchón "Ocho apellidos").

> A partir de la década de 1950, el hecho de que los extranjeros prefirieran el flamenco al folclore tuvo importantes consecuencias para el régimen de Franco y, en general, para la música española, porque fue precisamente en esa década cuando se inició el boom turístico de España, que precisaría del flamenco para generar ingresos para el Estado español. (Holguín, 521-522)

Tourism and flamenco generated a vicious cycle in Spain, as tourists came to Spain in search of flamenco, and the Franco regime promoted flamenco as a way to attract tourists.

Tourism not only generated foreign money to support the Spanish economy, but it also brought consumer capitalism to a state that had previously rejected neoliberal economic policy as overly foreign. According to historian Borja de Ricquer, the Franco regime proposed autarky to shelter Spanish economic production, as the way to tie National-Catholic ideology to economic protection at the end of the Civil War (247). But if autarky existed as a way to foster national identity in the terms of economic production, then the opening of the Spanish state to certain aspects of consumer capitalism held that same affective goal. According to Nigel Thrift: "A better way of understanding consumer capitalism might be as part of a series of overlapping affective fields" (308). The introduction of consumer capitalism in Spain via tourism also fostered Spanish participation in a wider set of affective fields.

Consumer capitalism had barely entered Spain in the late 1940s, but foreign films had already influenced fashion trends in Spain, as we saw in the introduction. Home seamstresses copied styles they saw onscreen, and specific items—such as the cardigan worn in *Rebecca* (1940) and the ankle-strap shoes worn in *Gilda* (1946)—came to define the fashion sensibilities of a generation of Spanish women. The material practices of everyday life under the regime meant that a few fashionable items held outsized affective potential, regardless of social class. As María Rosón notes regarding domestic portraiture in the 1940s and 1950s, "más que reflejar el estatus de clase, lo que se busca es la identificación con las estrellas cinematográficas del momento, especialmente el *glamour*

de Hollywood" (246). Women living under autarky still tried to emulate the stars they saw onscreen, in an attempt to capture the glamorousness of their star image for themselves.

Analyzing the material practices of glamour in a society with little economic resources at first seems counter-intuitive.[59] After all, women's magazines of the time often recommended to women that they reuse and recycle fabrics from outdated clothing styles to create outfits that were more in keeping with the latest fashions (Blasco Herranz "Moda e imágenes" 8). And yet, Spanish women still tried to approximate the glamorousness of Hollywood stars by copying fashion trends spread by Hollywood, even if they did so via their own thrift and frugality. The Hollywood star is fundamentally an image crafted of the "secular magic" of glamour. In addition, the Hollywood star participates in an object world that denotes glamorousness; the bright colors and rich fabrics of the costumes in a technicolor movie are only the most blatant examples of Hollywood glamour. The star's relationship to glamour does not disappear when their image circulates outside of the colorful object world of the film set. I would argue that the stars themselves slough affect onto the objects that they come into contact with. In this way, tourism of foreign stars to Spain (and the interactions of these stars with Spanish folklore) endowed folkloric representations of Spain with glamour.

The two chapters that comprise this part will address costuming and consumption in the star discourses of Carmen Miranda and Ava Gardner in Spain. Chapter 5 will address the ways in which the star image presented by Carmen Miranda as imported into Spain was so foreign as to be almost unassimilable, in spite of the ways in which her Portuguese birth and name were manipulated by the Spanish press to try to incorporate her into the Hispanic imaginary. Though Miranda's fashion sensibilities were consumed by some women under

[59] I will use the British spelling of glamour throughout this chapter as a way to denote the affective field of glamour. This coincides with Rosón's and Thrift's use of the British spelling, along with the way the Spanish press employed the term between 1945 and 1953.

the Franco regime, her star image ultimately failed to gain traction in Spain in part because of its basis in Afro-Brazilian customs and costumes, and in part because of the ways in which her star text re-oriented the transatlantic imperial/colonial matrix by focusing on US—and not Spanish—consumption of Latin America. In contrast, Ava Gardner crafted a particularly strong star image in Spain in the early 1950s, thanks to her repeated sojourns in the country after filming *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman* on the Catalan coast. Chapter 6 will discuss Gardner's consumption of Spanish folklore—via her attendance at bullfights, her notorious love affairs, and even her willingness to engage in folkloric Spanish dress and dance—and how her star image in Spain imbued artifacts of Spanish national identity with glamour. In this way, Gardner came to represent an idealized femininity according to the gender discourse of the Franco regime, even in spite of the iconoclasm of her personal life (drinking, sleeping around, working, and obtaining abortions and divorces).

Chapter 5: Carmen Miranda, nombre y apellido españolísimo

This chapter will analyze elements of Carmen Miranda's star discourse in Spain, paying special attention to the ways in which her Pan-American stardom was translated across the Atlantic Ocean. I will first discuss how Miranda's star discourse developed in Latin America and Hollywood, before discussing how the Spanish press wrote about her prior to 1948 and leading up to the debut of her first film in Spain, *That Night in Río* (*Aquella noche en Río*).[60] Beginning in 1948, the press discourse regarding Miranda shifted slightly, as four of her films from the early 1940s finally were allowed into the country, and Spaniards were able to judge for themselves who "Carmen Miranda" was and how she spoke (or not) to them.[61] I will then analyze commentary from the censors, as well as information from film reviews of the time, to demonstrate how members of the Spanish press represented Miranda as the principal actress in these films (whereas in reality, she played secondary roles in all but *Copacabana*). Even as some Spaniards struggled to recognize Carmen Miranda's body of work as anything other than stereotyped rubbish, members of the upper and upper-middle class in Spain imitated her look for their own private photos. That Miranda's star discourse only functioned in Spain for the consumption of a privileged few demonstrates a failure to nationalize her for mass Spanish audiences. And yet, in the 1950s, the tropical elements of Miranda's star discourse began to appear in Spanish advertisements oriented toward wealthy American tourists. In this way, Miranda's image was nationalized in Spain as a way to further exoticize the country for foreigners.

---

[60] Though released in 1941, *Aquella noche en Río* does not premiere in Spain until mid-April 1948.

[61] After *Aquella noche en Río*, the next Miranda film to debut in Spain was *Weekend in Havana (A la Habana me voy)* (July 1948), followed by *Down Argentine Way* (*Serenata Argentina)* in May 1949 and *Copacabana* in August 1949. The final Miranda film to premiere in Spain before 1953 was *Springtime in the Rockies* (*Secretaria Brasileña*) in 1951. With the exception of *Copacabana* (1947), all the other Miranda films released in Spain were released in the US between 1940 and 1942.

Carmen Miranda's star discourse originated in Brazil in the 1930s as that of a samba singer in the growing radio industry. According to Martha Gil-Montero, "Carmen became the brightest recording artist of the 1930s—with forty different titles invading the Brazilian record market in her first year with RCA Victor" (30). Gil-Montero emphasizes Miranda's professionalism and popularity throughout Brazil, along with her ability to select music and record songs that would become hits (31-32). She was a serious artist with high record sales throughout the 1930s, and her forays into early Brazilian cinema allowed popular Brazilian audiences another avenue to consume her musical stylings, while also offering her the opportunity to experiment with the visual presentation of her artistry. Scholars widely credit *Banana da terra* (1939) as the film that launched the star image that Miranda would rely on for the rest of her career, thanks to the *baiana* costume she wore while singing "O que é que a baiana tem?" (Shaw "Celebritisation" 291-292, Bishop-Sánchez 40, and Gil-Montero 54).

Carmen Miranda is best known for simplifying and internationalizing the costume and image of Afro-Brazilians from Bahía, in Northern Brazil. Kathryn Bishop-Sánchez argues that Miranda's *baiana* imagery does not derive from Bahia directly, but rather from the stylized representations of female Bahian street vendors that already formed a part of Carnival and low-budget stage performances in Río (20-24). Miranda's cultural appropriation of Bahian modes of dress continues to be controversial; as Hobson argues, Miranda's costume whitens, commodifies and makes invisible the black female body for global entertainment (14).

Carmen Miranda's transnational star persona was founded on the ways in which she represented herself to the US press and public through her Broadway performances and Hollywood films from during and immediately after World War II. Ana López attributes her stardom to the Good Neighbor Policy and to the US government's desire to reach out

to Latin America during World War II ("Latins" 73-77). Lisa Shaw claims that upon her move from Brazil to New York, Miranda herself engaged in a "conscious process of auto-exoticisation," embracing Getúlio Vargas' "self-tropicalising" agenda in the creation of her star image (Shaw "Celebritisation" 286). Shaw goes on to state that "upon arrival in New York, [Miranda] knowingly transformed herself into a caricature, a virtual cartoon character from South of the Border, whose pantomimic excess instantly provoked mimicry, to which she gave her own seal of approval, for comic effect" (Shaw "Celebritisation" 290).

The comic aspects of Miranda's star discourse did not arrive in Spain until her movies did. Miranda's singing voice and her physical appearance were the first aspects of her star discourse to arrive in Spain, through recordings and publicity stills. Given the fecundity of Miranda's recording career in the 1930s, it makes sense that some knowledge of Carmen Miranda, samba artist, would exist in Spain, even in spite of the country's devastation during the Civil War and isolation during the 1940s. An early conception of Miranda as Hispanic appears in ¡*Hola*!'s first mention of Miranda on April 28, 1945; a short piece under the "Noticiario Extranjero" part states:

> Parece ser que la cantidad de tela empleada en las faldas está en relación inversa con el sueldo que disfrutan algunas artistas de Hollywood. Carmen Miranda, por ejemplo, que es brasileña a pesar de su nombre españolísimo y su apellido, también españolísimo –y de parada y fonda–, sabe algo de esto. Cada vez gana más. Y sus faldas se acortan en cada película. ("Noticiario" 15)

In this article, we see some of the earliest attempts to link Carmen Miranda to Spain and to *Hispanidad* (via her "very Spanish" name). Yet already in Spain, Miranda is better known for her costuming, and specifically for how her dress contributes to her value as a star. She earns more because her clothing (or lack thereof) sells. According to this excerpt, Miranda's sex appeal (and thus, value as a star) was based on her visually

desirable way of dressing. That the author of this piece classifies her skirts as short emphasizes the differences in the moral code of Hollywood and Spain in the 1940s. Carmen Miranda's dresses were sexy and sensual, and replaced the full skirt of the traditional *baiana* costume with more figure-hugging, satin numbers. Thigh-high slits allowed Miranda more mobility during her song and dance numbers, but form-fitting skirts are not the same as short ones. That Miranda was judged for supposedly wearing short skirts in her films (and that the Spanish press imply that her wardrobe became more scandalous in each film) demonstrates yet again the hypersexualization of foreign culture under the Franco regime.

Another article—also from ¡*Hola*! —presented Miranda's film style as highly modernized and even cutting edge. In "El sombrero atómico," published October 3, 1946, the author discusses the latest advances in millinery in California and includes a short paragraph highlighting one of Carmen Miranda's more inventive fashionable excursions, in which she walked around Hollywood with a 'lighthouse hat':

> Carmen Miranda se atrevió a dar el difícil paso y un día de septiembre salió a pasear por el centro de la ciudad del cine con un complicado armatoste a la cabeza que terminaba en un pequeño faro que se encendía por medio de una pila eléctrica y que lanzaba sus raudales de luz sobre los boquiabiertos viandantes de Hollywood. (7)

According to this article (which is only the second time in its history that ¡*Hola*! magazine mentions her), Miranda is a daring and inventive fashion pioneer, overwhelming observers with her complex and technologically advanced creations. In Spain in 1946, Miranda represents a type of modernity—an absurd and even monstrous sort of modernity, but modernity nonetheless—overflowing with electricity and reflecting power and scientific progress, even in the realm of fashion.

The "lighthouse hat" was actually a part of her costume for the foxtrot "True to the Navy" from *Doll Face*. It is a famous moment in Miranda's film narrative, given that the song and dance number in which it was used was cut from the final version of the film. Ruy Castro states:

> Carmen filmou um segundo número, o foxtrote "True to the Navy" em que sua fantasia (de novo com uma perna de fora, uma fixação de Yvonne Wood) era completada por um chapéu em forma de farol. Ao fim do número, o farol acendia graças a uma potente bateria embutida, que o fazia pesar sete quilos sobre a cabeça de Carmen. O Código Hays, como sempre enxergando apenas o pior lado da humanidade, viu no farol um volumoso símbolo fálico, principalmente quando aceso – e, pensando bem, essa pode ter sido a intenção de Carmen e Yvonne. O número foi cortado, reduzindo ainda mais a parte de Carmen no filme. (395)

Kathryn Bishop-Sánchez surmises that, rather than being the result of a Production Code violation, the scene was cut simply because song and dance numbers that did not advance the film's plot were often cut in order to shorten the length of a film (103).

This article portrays Miranda in a positive light, perhaps taking pride in the fact that she was a highly successful Hispanic woman in Hollywood. [62] She was the highest paid actress of 1945, and her fashion sense was so advanced that no one dared copy it:

> El truco de la pila desconcertó a los creadores de modelos y durante meses el sombrero faro de Carmen Miranda brilló con luz propia en el bello y elegante panorama de la moda californiana. (7)

She bathed in her own light, from her electric hat to her unique star image, Carmen Miranda's celebrity image shone throughout Hollywood, showing the fashion world just how brilliant a Hispanic star could be. The article claims that Miranda wore this hat while walking through downtown Hollywood, leaving passersby agape. The problem is that the

[62] By using the term Hispanic here, I mean to articulate that the ways in which Franco propaganda rendered "Hispanic objects" out of Brazilian and Portuguese subjects. Miranda's picture personality may have crossed into a generic "Hispanic-ness," but she mostly represented a "Latin" identity in her films and star discourse. In Spain under Franco, however, she is portrayed as belonging to the broader Hispanic community as articulated by de Maeztu.

hat mentioned only ever appeared in publicity stills, so Miranda only ever wore it around a studio lot as she was preparing to film her scenes. ¡*Hola*! makes it seem as if this hat were a cutting-edge aspect of the typical fashion world, and not just a Hollywood costume.

This quote forms part of a larger article linking advances in fashion to scientific and political changes, such as the nuclear bomb, electricity, and even plumbing. The article places Miranda's electric hat between a nuclear bomb-inspired[63] feathered velvet hat, designed by a San Francisco milliner, and one supposedly worn by an English "lady" in 1909 that had a working fountain with water (7). The inclusion of Miranda within this article links her within Spain to scientific progress —no matter how absurd the thought of a lighthouse on top of one's head is— and elevates her figure as an example to follow (towards modernity!) and not as a stereotype to avoid.

Finally, this article introduces Miranda as "la mujer que más dinero ha ganado en los Estados Unidos en 1945" (7). Emphasizing the money that Miranda earned certainly alienates her as a role model for the female Spanish reader in the traditional gender discourse; however, implicit in being the highest-paid actress in the United States is the hard work that went into that achievement. Though remunerative work did not form part of the ideals of Spanish femininity promulgated by the *Sección Femenina*, hard work did. Also implicit in the article is a certain pride in the fact that a Hispanic woman was the highest paid actress in the Anglo United States.

Thus, before Miranda's films premiered in Spain, she was written about as the highest paid actress in Hollywood—a woman whose stage name was read as "very Spanish"—with a daring and unique fashion sense that was both excessively sexualized

[63] "La citada prenda consiste en un casquete de terciopelo negro del que salen –como las llamaradas multicolores de la bomba atómica—una infinita cantidad de cintas de los más variadas colores y cuatro plumas de avestruz que terminan en otras cuatro blancas plumas que simbolizan lo que pudiera denominarse el 'momento' blanco' de la gigantesca explosión del ultimo artefacto bélico creado por la fantasía de la Humanidad."

and excessively modern. She was not, however, written about as a comedienne; rather, in the months leading up to the premiere of her *Aquella noche en Río*, her modernized sexuality was read in Spain as that of a vamp or a femme fatale. An article in *Cámara* in February 1948, aptly titled "Queremos conocer a Carmen Miranda" locates Miranda as the latest in a string of femme fatales at work over the course of cinematic history. The first two thirds of the article discuss the history of the femme fatale (mentioning actresses such as Clara Bow, Theda Bara and Greta Garbo, who had portrayed such dangerous women). Only in the last four paragraphs does the author arrive at Carmen Miranda by linking the "sex-appeal" of the colorful Hollywood musical comedy to the "glamour" of earlier *femmes fatales*: "Y las nuevas vampiresas de la pantalla conquistan a las gentes al compás de la zamba (sic) o viviendo rempalagosos romances de fantasmagoría en un recargado tecnicolor" (Falquina 19).

One would be hard pressed to find an academic who would concur with the elision of the femme fatale and Hollywood musical types and tropes. According to Mary Anne Doane, the femme fatale is a symbol of male fears about gender difference and feminism as a result of the Industrial Revolution (2-3). The femme fatale is a particularly modern construction of female objectification that reaches its zenith in cinema, but in Franco Spain, apparently, a femme fatale was any woman who was even remotely sexualized. Eva Woods notes that in the 1920s, a Spanish version of a vamp (incarnated by silent film star Raquel Meller) served as "a charged figure of alterity that signified the liminality of being caught between the old and the new Spain" (*White Gypsies* 67). The *femmes fatales* that Woods points to are also racialized as white gypsies, allowing Spaniards to negotiate the demands of modernity via exotic figures that nonetheless held weight in the taxonomy of racialization (Gypsies, Moors, Jews, and Christians, as elaborated in Part Two) on the Iberian Peninsula.

Carmen Miranda does not fit into the Spanish racial taxonomy, and in Hollywood, Carmen Miranda was not a femme fatale. Rather, she was a comedienne whose act was oriented towards packaging a Pan-American *Latinidad* for a US audience. Charles Ramirez Berg uses her star image as an example of the female clown stereotype in his breakdown of Latino stereotypes in Hollywood films ("Latino Images" 75). According to Ramirez Berg, her multicolored costumes and fruit-covered hats "instantly mocked the folkloric costumes—and customs—of Brazil and Latin America in general" ("Latino Images" 75). Her comedy was not at all directed at Spain, however, so Falquina can do nothing more than equate audience enthusiasm for Miranda's electric dancing style to audience arousal at languid swooning and extended kisses that lasted at least ten minutes.[64]

Falquina remarks on how frustrating it is for the Spanish public not to have seen any of Miranda's original films, instead having to settle for impersonations of her from other sources:

> aún permanecemos nosotros sin contemplarla, teniendo que contentarnos con acertadas y graciosas imitaciones suyas, tales como la que los mejicanos hicieron en 'Internado de señoritas', o, recientemente, los yanquis en unas escenas de 'Cita en los cielos.' (Falquina 19)

By 1948, Miranda had spawned a number of imitations and impersonators across the globe, and this author wants to be able to enjoy the original, divorced from the caricatures made of her.[65]

---

[64] Spanish censorship ensured that all kisses longer than one second were cut from films, so the fact that Falquino refers to "besos de diez minutos de duración" at this moment in his article indicates how hypersexualized foreign (especially Hollywood) films were in Spain.

[65] Miranda's stardom surpassed its own discourse though, as her figure was referenced constantly in films and other aspects of popular culture. For instance, we even see a reference to Carmen Miranda in *Mildred Pierce*, as Kate sings "South American Way" while Veda plays piano. Kate is dressed in a costume imitating Miranda, with ribbons on her wrists that look like stacks of bangles and cuffs, a scarf wrapped around her head and tied in a bow with a carnation dangling from it, bright lipstick, and a fringed scarf, imitating one of Miranda's flowing skirts. That *Mildred Pierce* premiered (in 1948) before *Down Argentine Way* (in May 1949) in Spain simply illustrates the complexity of popular foreign cinema and its referents under the Franco regime.

This article rhetorically constructs desire for Carmen Miranda's star vehicles within Spain in its very title: "Queremos conocer a Carmen Miranda" (Falquina 19). The content of the article did not indicate that the author or the Spanish public for whom he speaks actually wanted to meet Carmen Miranda in person, but rather, that they wanted to be able to see her films:

> Queremos conocerla porque la propaganda exorbitante que de ella se ha hecho no es posible que se malgaste en algo que no merezca la pena. Queremos conocerla porque, en unión del famoso modisto Adrián, se ha convertido en la tirana de la moda de Hollywood. Así, sencillamente. Queremos conocerla por la fastuosidad y exotismo con que rodea sus actuaciones, ya que las gacetillas aseguran con toda seriedad que su vestuario de escena se calcula en cincuenta mil dólares. (Falquina 19)

They want to see what all the fuss was about; however, in terms of film celebrity, that fuss is the actress not as she is in real life, but rather, as the characters she plays in her star vehicles and the glamour of her onscreen image. Specifically, the aspects of Miranda's star vehicles that this author claims that Spaniards would like to consume is her over-the-top fashion and exoticism. He argues that all of Miranda's publicity cannot be for naught, but then misunderstands the construction of her image as a fashion trend, assuming that the popularity of Miranda's style originated thanks to the popularity of the costume designer who she must have worked with. However, Falquina does not realize that part of Miranda's appeal to Hollywood and US audiences was due in part to Miranda's luck at coinciding with a broader trend of popularity of Latin American songs and styles as a result of the Good Neighbor Policy and the desire for exotic locales to counter wartime gloom.

Falquina cites Adrian—the Hollywood designer who designed some of Joan Crawford's most famous looks, including dresses that accentuated Crawford's figure with large shoulder pads—as one of the costume designers responsible for Miranda's look. But Miranda never worked with Adrian; rather, the designer who had the biggest impact on her

cinematic style was Travis Banton (*Down Argentine Way* and *That Night in Rio*), while Yvonne Wood (*The Gang's All Here* and *Doll Face*) and Gwen Wakeling (*Week-End in Havana*) added their own interpretations to Miranda's cinematic fashions. In addition, as multiple academics have noted, Miranda herself participated in the construction of her costumes, given her skills as a seamstress and milliner, developed from work she had undertaken before becoming a star. And as Kathryn Bishop-Sánchez notes, what was different in the case of Miranda (from other female stars who also participated in the way they dressed in the movies) is that

> the studio insisted on, and the media echoed, Miranda's personal investment in her costumes, portraying her as participant/producer of her own image rather than what might have been a less flattering alternative: manipulated at the hands of the studio's artistic executives. (119)

The manipulation of Miranda's star image for a US audience did little to position Miranda within the tropes promulgated by *Hispanidad*. Instead, Miranda commoditized Afro-Brazilian culture within an imperial/colonial narrative that distanced Latin America from Spain and pulled it closer to the US during the 1940s.

While Shaw notes Miranda's "sartorial and performative innovations that gave the *baiana* look iconic status," she does not deny that Miranda's costuming ever-increasingly confined the star to exotic roles, playing a feisty Latin American clown ("Carmen Miranda" 77). According to Shari Roberts, "By taking as her costume enormous flowers, fruits, and vegetables intermixed with exaggerated traditional Brazilian dress, Miranda becomes the image of an overflowing cornucopia of South American products, ripe, ready, and eager for picking by North American consumer" (14). Carmen Miranda's costumes made her incredibly unique and accentuated actual (and desired) consumption of her celebrity image, within the US.

Miranda's costumes had a specific basis in Afro-Brazilian culture and in the ways that Northeastern Afro-Brazilian dress had been commodified and stylized for wealthy Cariocas in Southern Brazil. Miranda coopted the Lusotropical aesthetics of *mestiçagem* proposed by Gilberto Freyre and promulgated by the auto-exoticizing agenda of Getúlio Vargas (President of Brazil, 1930-1945); in doing so, she served as a cultural ambassador selling an idealized version of Brazilian identity and racial mixing abroad. Though consumption of Miranda's style translated well from Rio to New York and Hollywood, it did not make the same leap across the pond, perhaps because the racial discourses that marked the basis of this costume did not exist in Spain in the same way. Brazil was no racial utopia, even in the 1930s, but even then, black and white coexisted and intermingled in ways that Spaniards could not comprehend.[66] Thus, the racial discourse (of cultural appropriation of African culture in the Americas by white people) that Miranda was participating in in Brazil and the United States was so markedly different from the racial discourse in Franco Spain as to be almost unassimilable.

It is likely that Miranda's films were kept out of Spain at the height of her popularity in World War II because they were overt war propaganda. Spanish importation houses may have simply overlooked Carmen Miranda's films when they were deciding which ones to purchase; however, given that fact that Spanish film companies tended to import more films from Germany during the war, US war propaganda films were not shown. When in 1949, Hispano Fox film tried to import the Tyrone Power vehicle *Crash Dive* under the title *Tiburones de acero*, the censorship board stated:

[66] For more on racial discourses in Brazil, please see Marshall Eakin *Becoming Brazilian: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond *White Negritude: Race, Writing and Brazilian Cultural Identity*, and Micol Seigel *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, among others.

> Vista por la Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica, en sesión celebrada el día 23 de los corrientes la película de esa Casa titulada 'TIBURONES DE ACERO', y teniendo en cuenta que la película no ha sido todavía importada y que viene para consejo y consulta de esta Junta Superior, se ha estimado por mayoría que no hay motivos para su prohibición, pero que dado que la película ha sido realizada en el año 1943, en plena guerra, como película de propaganda norteamericana de la misma y por entenderla ya trasnochada, fuera de tiempo y de lugar, carente de interés en la actualidad, se aconseja a esa Casa que no la importe y la sustituya por otro título más interesante, máxime habida cuenta de que no se ocasionan perjuicios. (Expediente de censura: *Tiburones de acero*)

One of the censors, Santos Alcocer, took great umbrage at the fact that the film represented Germans as if they were fools.

In fact, Miranda's films *were* propaganda to ally Latin America with the United States in World War II wherein, as James Mandrell claims, US popular culture found itself complicit in the spread of the US government's Good Neighbor Policy (30). The Good Neighbor Policy originated in the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a way to improve ties with Latin American nations and foster hemispheric unity. In addition to removing US military presence from Haiti and Nicaragua, the Good Neighbor Policy also incorporated a cultural component—led by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs—aimed at enhancing relations between Latin American nations and the US by improving the representation of Latin Americans in Hollywood.[67]

In its attempt to improve Pan-American relations, the Good Neighbor Policy represented a new sort of economic and cultural imperialism within Latin America for the United States. No longer reliant on military intervention, US involvement in Latin America under the Good Neighbor Policy challenged the cultural imperialism that Spain promoted

[67] For more on the Good Neighbor Policy and cultural imperialism, please consult Frederick Pike *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: sixty years of generally gentle chaos*, Fred Fejes *Imperialism, media and the good neighbor: New Deal foreign policy and United States shortwave broadcasting to Latin America*, and Dale Adams "Saludos Amigos: Hollywood and FDR's Good Neighbor Policy," among others.

under *Hispanidad*.[68] Carmen Miranda and her films perfectly encapsulated the stereotyped but positive image that Hollywood tried to paint for Latin America in the US. Shaw states: "Miranda personified the spirit of Pan-Americanism as the ultimate 'good neighbor' whose journey to the North displayed the potential for inter-hemispheric unity and cordial relations" ("Celebritisation" 288). Miranda's performance reinforced the US—and not Spain—as the contemporary colonizer of Latin America, and this is what makes the April 1945 excerpt from ¡*Hola*! mentioned above—especially its explanation of Miranda's name as "españolísimo y su apellido, también españolísimo"—so interesting. Though a translation from a foreign news source, it is clear that the editors added their own touch to the paragraph by emphasizing how Spanish her screen name was. Her full name, María do Carmo Miranda da Cunha, shares some traits with female Spanish names (María and Carmen were and are quite popular names), but is very clearly Portuguese.

The emphasis on the Spanishness of her stage name illustrates an attempt to establish an affective bond between the Spanish public and a Latin American star in Hollywood whose filmed work would not be accessible in Spain for three more years. This affective bond—based on the idea of a shared Hispanic family promulgated by *Hispanidad* to tie Spain to all its former lands (including Portugal and Brazil)—fulfills the thesis proposed by Ramiro de Maeztu. Given that Miranda was a Brazilian by Portuguese birth, the phrase that claims that her name and surname are "very Spanish" seems intent on appropriating Miranda's figure as more broadly Hispanic, rather than Brazilian, American, "Latin," or any other iteration of identity that might seem to deny Spanish imperial history on the American continent.

---

[68] As mentioned in the Introduction, *Hispanidad* is a discourse that encompasses a multitude of perspectives, including those focused on subduing Spain's internal population under one national identity. But it also formed a mode of cultural imperialism oriented towards Latin America in the early 1940s and based on the history of Spanish imperial power in the region (which brought linguistic, religious and cultural similarities).

If anything, Miranda's star persona threatened *Hispanidad* as it was conceived in Spain for a few reasons, primarily her costume and her Pan-Americanism. First, her costume—drawn from the *baiana*'s daily look—is deeply racialized, as it is a style traditionally associated with Afro-Brazilians and descendants of slaves. Miranda's comedic emphasis on local Brazilian characteristics, and especially on Afro-Brazilian culture, immediately distanced her image and performances from the ideals of *Hispanidad*. As Shaw remarks:

> Her appearance in the baiana costume in *Banana da terra* was ground-breaking as an example of both cross-class and cross-racial dressing. The look was made more palatable for mainstream (white self-identifying) Brazilian audiences of the late 1930s, however, by the overt nods to Hollywood glamour in its stylistic innovations. ("Carmen Miranda" 36)

The whitening of this Afro-Brazilian look may have allowed it to become globalized, but it brings to light a deep tension in the discourse of *Hispanidad* as it pertained to Spain's relationship with the Americas. Namely, *Hispanidad* is a discourse that privileges a more European whiteness while precluding the history of *mestizaje* that characterizes identity formation in the Americas (even the US has its melting pot). No matter how much Miranda had morphed her look for US audiences, the fact remains that its origins in Afro-Brazilian traditions —traditions derived from slavery and poverty— reflect the dark side of the glorious, imperial past that Franco Spain was trying to promote.

Hispanidad references a purity derived from ancient racial miscegenation, even as it elides contemporary discourses of *mestizaje*, so the meaning behind Miranda's costume never truly fits within Spain. Though De Maeztu promotes a version of *Hispanidad* that incorporated Portugal and Brazil, he does not privilege their place in the Hispanic world over that of countries where Spanish is the primary language. Miranda herself did not speak

Spanish, but rather Portuguese and a heavily accented English in her films.[69] The seriousness that weighed down *Hispanidad* as a post-imperial racial project was in sharp contrast to how Miranda passed herself off as comic relief and not as particularly serious or elegant (in contrast to Dolores del Río in the silent films where she played the stereotypical Dark Lady).[70] Her star image was so completely foreign that there was no way to reconcile the *Latinidad* that she represented in the Spanish mind. In fact, she was so foreign that the review of *Weekend in Havana* (*A la Habana me voy*) read her as black, labelling Miranda a "frenética escultura de ébano" (R. de León 34). This does not mean that the censors and members of the Spanish press did not try to integrate Miranda's star discourse into Spain, only that the aspects of her image that could be tied to *Hispanidad* were accentuated in Spain. For instance, applications for censorship and film reviews tended to place Miranda's name first, even though she had second billing behind Alice Faye in *Weekend in Havana* and *That Night in Rio* and behind Betty Grable in *Down Argentine Way* and *Springtime in the Rockies*.[71] Second, the title change of *Springtime in the Rockies* to *Secretaría brasileña* in Spain emphasizes Miranda's role in the film and is another way to subtly call attention to her broadly Hispanic heritage.

The review of *That Night in Rio* in ¡*Hola*! magazine reflects the desire expressed in the *Cámara* article in its opening line: "Por fin, y gracias a esta película, hemos podido admirar a la famosa 'estrella' Carmen Miranda en nuestras pantallas" (de Armenteras, "Kursaal" 15). The review goes on to reference how the anticipation to see this star grew:

---

[69] In fact, most of the comedic moments of her films (especially for Brazilian audiences) came from bursts of Portuguese that may or may not have been translated for Spanish audiences in the dubbed and censored versions.

[70] See Chapter 1 for a more detailed description of Dolores Del Rio's star image and stereotyped portrayals of the Dark Lady in Hollywood silent cinema.

[71] Alice Faye is also the lead in *The Gang's All Here*, but since this film did not premiere in Spain until the 1970s, I chose to list only those films that aired in Spain under the dictatorship in the body of my text.

"Conocíamos su voz a través de los discos gramofónicos; su bella efigie gracias únicamente a la profusión de fotografías publicadas; pero desconocíamos sus célebres danzas" (de Armenteras, "Kursaal" 15) The Spanish audience was aware that they were only receiving a portion of her star discourse, and they felt left out, according to the authors of this review. That said, the amount of press coverage that Miranda received in Spain waned rather quickly, especially once her films debuted. Already by 1950, her popularity in both the US and in Spain had faded. In a review of *Copacabana* from *Cámara* in 1950, B. Gallardo states that Carmen Miranda "pasado el incentivo de la novedad, resulta una artista de muy limitados recursos y que alcanza límites insospechados en su desagradable fotogenia" (9). Curiosity and novelty made Miranda's image popular within Spain while she was still more or less unknown as a movie star, but less than two years after her first film appeared in Spain, at least one critic had already tired of her act. Even in Hollywood, Miranda's popularity had declined since the end of World War II, and there was simply less publicity material to work with. *Copacabana* itself was Miranda's attempt to play a "genuinely leading role," free from the constraints of studio contracts (Shaw "Carmen Miranda" 68). However, I would also like to propose that another facet to this quick fade in Miranda's press coverage in Spain is due in part to the fact that Miranda's stardom was based on a *Latinidad* that privileged a Pan-American identity over a Hispanic one.

As we saw from the review of *That Night in Río*, Spanish audiences were familiar with Miranda's image, long before her films arrived in 1948. Miranda's star discourse was not Hispanic, but rather "Latin." She represented a Pan-Latin American identity in Hollywood that was not Hispanic, in that it was tied to Spain, but rather Pan-American, divorced from the Spanish imperial project, yet dominated by US hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. Though stereotyped in a way that simplified Latin America to a tropical, fruitful paradise, Miranda's performance created a Latin American identity that did not

mesh with *Hispanidad* and that, in fact, drew a marked distinction between Latin American-ness and Hispanic-ness. *Hispanidad* was not a comedic, but rather, serious and exalted, discourse under Franquismo; perhaps her performances did not sell in Spain for this reason. Her international stardom was undeniable, but her star persona did not match the version of Latin America (part of Spain's imperial legacy) that the Franco government wished to promote in Spain, especially since it endorsed US consumption of and involvement in Latin America. In pandering to a US crowd, Miranda's celebrity sign connotes that Spain is no longer the imperial power in Latin America.

According to the censorship files and film reviews, the last film of Miranda's to be released in Spain under the Franco regime was *Copacabana* in February 1950. The individual censors seem to have appreciated the film enough to approve it for adults over 16 years of age. Their comments include such statements as "Una película muy entretenida con la gracia peculiar de Groucho Marx y la divertida interpretación de Carmen Miranda tan buena bailarina como ingeniosa actriz;" "de Carmen Miranda y Groucho Marx. Guión divertido; bastante bien en conjunto;"[72] and "Representación muy animada y actores excelentes" (Expediente de censura: *Copacabana*). At least some people in Spain still enjoyed Miranda's performances, though the film itself was panned by the critics in Spain. Gallardo's critique of *Copacabana* (mentioned above) recognizes that Miranda's style and star image—stereotyped, specifically targeted at the US wartime audience, and overtly constructed to promote US cultural imperialism—no longer affected Spanish critics.

Miranda did, however, still affect postwar Spanish spectators, or at least the idea of what postwar Spaniards had of fashion trends around the world and how they might influence trends in Spain. One article (written by anonymous *Fotógramas'* correspondents

[72] Notice how this censor, Igoa, puts Carmen Miranda first, even though Groucho Marx actually has the top billing in the film. This is either a sign of the cultural cache that Miranda had in Spain (thanks to her supposedly Hispanic identity) or a sign of sexism. I prefer to read it as the former.

and illustrated by Sanz Lafita)[73] speculates that Spanish men may soon see their women "wearing orchards on their heads" in imitation of Carmen Miranda, thanks to her business acumen, cross-promotions and fashion endorsements of her costumes:

> De como (sic) la verdura hace rica a una actriz: Carmen Miranda puede de vanagloriarse de haber hecho un buen negocio gracias a un plato de verdura y fruta y una cinta de terciopelo. Tras haber introducido en la pantalla los cabellos adornados con plátanos, cebollas y naranjas, la original y excéntrica actriz tuvo la buena idea de patentar esta innovación. Desde luego, Carmen Miranda especula sobre la afición que sienten las mujeres por todo lo que es extravagante y llamativo… ¡y se ha ganado una magnífica renta anual! A los hombres nos tocará soportar el que las señoras se exhiban por estos mundos con un huerto en la cabeza. ("El cine marcha: lo que dicen nuestros corresponsales" 15)

Much like *Primer Plano*, the target audience of *Fotógramas* was not women, but rather, men working in the Spanish cinematic industry. In this way, we see that the exaggerated consumption that Miranda fostered was viewed by men as a silly feminine excess that they would have to endure. Miranda did not patent her costume like this guy says, but rather she simply marketed commodified aspects of her star image, like her platform shoes and turbans, through endorsements (Shaw 83). This author projects a present or future of women with 'orchards on their heads' (never mind that the fashions that Miranda endorsed were more toned-down versions of her costumes, like cloth turbans instead of fruit-laden hats). But the prospect of female excess leads in this article to a sort of male hysteria, as the accompanying illustration shows Carmen Miranda's head topped by a complete orchard, with various fruits, banana leaves, a bird, a miniature palm tree and a dark-skinned orchard worker harvesting a melon.

[73] *Fotógramas* does not make clear who exactly the correspondent is in Hollywood who is relaying this information. It is possible that the information in this article is simply Hollywood publicity or plagiarized copy from international sources, to which a more local spin is added.

An instance of Miranda's popularity in Spain amongst female spectators is that of a private portrait of Rosita Soler, taken at the Edén studio in Barcelona (Rosón 251).[74] Soler wears a sequin and fringe skirt with a midriff-baring fringed halter top and a large, sequined pouf on her head. Her long hair flows around her shoulders and thick bracelets grace her forearms. She is very clearly dressed like Carmen Miranda, and Rosón mentions that this photo is only one of a series that Soler and her friends took, each mimicking Miranda. The imitation is not exact, but the essential characteristics of Miranda's costume are there: turban, midriff-baring and fringed top, sequined skirt, and bracelets. According to Rosón, this photo provides proof of the individual performances and appropriations that Spanish women used to navigate Franco-era oppression (252). In addition, that a group of women used precious financial resources to pay a photographer to capture them dressed as Miranda insinuates an affective attachment that Spanish women may have felt towards the Latin American star, an affective attachment that belies the relatively scant circulation of her star image in Spanish film and gossip magazines.

This emphasis on Miranda's costume as the essential aspect of her act highlights the importance of dress in the construction of celebrity, and especially of Miranda's star image. Rachel Moseley argues that, in the context of celebrity, dress functions as both a delineating factor and a point of connection between the star persona and the public that consumes them (6-7). Carmen Miranda's costuming was iconic, and not simply because she had a unique sense of fashion. These Spanish women copied her style for a reason, and I argue that that reason is due to the affective power of glamour. We have seen how, in Spain, Miranda's star image was associated with glamorousness due to the sexiness of her costumes. Miranda herself accumulated affective attachments, as can be seen in the ways

[74] Rosón dates this photo to 1954. Though outside of my date range, I have decided to include it because of the difficulty in acquiring proof of audience reception under Franco Spain.

in which people wished to imitate her. This desire, this longing to dress up as Carmen Miranda reflects a desire to *be* her through the consumption of her image.

In contrast, towards the middle of the 1950s, aspects of Miranda's star image were re-appropriated to position Spain alongside Latin America as a tropical location for US tourists to visit and spend money. In fact, Miranda's image was used specifically as a device of US cultural imperialism within Spain. I would like to analyze two advertisements that coopt aspects of Miranda's image to sell Spain as a tropical paradise. The first is a part of the "Fly Iberia" ad campaign, advertising the Canary Islands as "The fortunate isles where everlasting spring sparkles amid Atlantic foam." This image premiered at some point during the latter half of the twentieth century. The second is a travelogue created by amateur videographer J. Gerald Hooper in 1953 to be used as an advertisement for ATESA bus services.[75] Even though the creation and dissemination of these advertisements may fall outside of the dates of this research, I find it important to include them because of the ways in which elements of Carmen Miranda's star image were subverted in Spain to promote US tourism and consumption of Spanish exoticism.

The "Fly Iberia" ad shows a jetliner flying over a beach and Teide volcano. In the foreground, a woman dressed in a version of the traditional garb of Tenerife stands next to a plantain tree, holding a basket full of flowers and a pineapple. The vibrant reds, yellows and greens of the foliage suggest that the Canary Islands forms a tropical milieu, while the bright stripes and fullness of the woman's skirt stereotype and fetishize folk dress. This ad borrows from Carmen Miranda's tropicalist imagery in two ways. First, a large bunch of plantains bursts forth from a tree at the level of the woman's head, suggesting the sort of

[75] The archival information listed under the entry for this film in the Filmoteca Nacional indicates only that it was made between 1950 and 1959. Research into the Margaret Kelly Collection on the Bluebell Girls indicates that they performed at Villa Rosa in Madrid in 1953, which suggests that at least part of this video was filmed in 1953.

fruit-laden turban that Miranda was known for. Second, the woman's folk garb is sexualized, with her white peasant blouse hangs off her shoulders to reveal mild cleavage. Though not hyper-sexualized in the way that Miranda's imagery had been, the cut of this blouse is far more sexualized than the traditional cut of a Canary Islander's blouse, with its high neckline, vest, elbow-length sleeves and shawl.[76] By sexualizing and tropicalizing Canarian folk dress in the manner of Miranda's image, this ad appeals to the middle-class US (or British) tourist in search of a sultry and sunny destination.

Similarly, Hooper's "Touring Spain via ATESA" is targeted at middle class US tourists, taking the viewer on a video tour of Spain's greatest sights and selling Spain as commodity, future market and object of consumption. It does so by making subtle comparisons between Spain and Latin America through their own unique dancing traditions. After taking the viewer through Valencia, Granada, Seville, Toledo, Santander, San Sebastian, Montserrat, and Barcelona, the ad returns to Madrid and to the outdoor pool of the Villa Rosa supper club, where the prospective tourist is treated to two distinct dance performances, the first a flamenco dance by the Vega troupe (María, Teresa, Chiquita and two unnamed men),[77] and the second by Denise and the Bluebells, "another renowned dance organization on the Villa Rosa shore," according to the narrator (Hooper).[78] The flamenco troupe reflects the artistic and popular image that the Franco regime projected both to the outside world and within Spain; the Vega dance group is "proclaimed throughout Europe as tops among Gypsy dancers" (Hooper). True

---

[76] It turns out that traditional Canary Islander folk dress may not be all that traditional, as artist Néstor Martín Fernández de la Torre seems to have (re)created Canary Island folkloric costume in the 1930s as a way to revitalize insular identity and attract tourism to the islands. (Calvo 64).

[77] It is possible that these women were all related, but the film makes no mention of their connection, other than that they formed a part of the same flamenco dancing troupe.

[78] The Bluebell Girls were an international dance troupe created in 1939 by Margaret Kelly and based first in Paris and then in Las Vegas. An archive of scrapbooks and programs from their international appearances is housed at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas in the Margaret Kelly Collection.

professionals, these dancers perform a heel-stomping flamenco routine on a grassy lawn, yet the music the spectator hears has been added post-production, as it includes the sounds of castanets and foot stomps on a wooden stage (not present in the visual images).

In contrast, the Bluebells wear teal- and white-striped strapless leotards with puffed sleeves and skirts that open at the front. Compared with the modest necklines and long skirts of the flamenco dancers' *trajes de sevillana*, the Bluebells' costumes are unequivocally provocative with their legs completely visible through their open skirts and orange fabric accentuating their breasts and pubic area. Their outfits also clearly imitate Carmen Miranda's costumes, with chunky necklaces and tall, pointy turbans with a dark brown straw hat attached to the side. The Bluebells costumes appropriate Miranda's "Latin" image, and in filming their performance and including it alongside that of the Vega troupe, Hooper equates Spain and Latin America, using types and tropes to signal Franco Spain as a place ripe for touristic consumption and ready for colonization by US capitalist imperialism. Though the Bluebells are not a Spanish dancing troupe, the ad does not mention where they originate, instead using their performance of a mambo to insinuate a vaguely "Latin" source. The mambo is not Spanish, but rather, of Cuban origin; however, this ad employs the Bluebells as a group of "chicas vestidas a lo Carmen Miranda bailando el mambo," according to the Filmoteca's summary of its contents, as if the mambo were one of the typical folkloric dances that American tourists might enjoy when they visit Franco Spain.

As a Brazilian famous for her Hollywood films, Miranda was seen in the US as representing all of Latin America; however, many in Latin America rejected the tropicalist stereotype that Miranda promoted as representing them or their country. Though Miranda's Hollywood star image primarily represented a hemispheric Latin American identity, aspects of her star image bleed into American tourist promotion to Spain. By connecting

flamenco dancing to the mambo, the elision of Spain into a Latin American-style "tropical" destination is complete. The example of Carmen Miranda shows how the Franco regime coopted Hollywood star discourses to further sell Spain abroad. However, this is nowhere more evident than in the star we will discuss in the next chapter, Ava Gardner.

Chapter 6: Ava Gardner: "Una americana a la española"[79]

Whereas Carmen Miranda's costume contained a cultural capital that helped exoticize Spain for the US tourist, dress and fashion helped to incorporate Ava Gardner into the Spanish national imaginary in a way that subtly combatted Hollywood's cultural imperialism by privileging *Hispanidad* and Spanish traditions. Gardner was perhaps the foreign film star most closely associated with Spain in the middle of the twentieth century. Ava herself noted in her autobiography:

> I have to admit, I was fascinated by Spain from the first. I felt a kinship with the flamenco; it was alive then, and pure. The bullfights made for beautiful, exciting pageants, as did the fiestas, when everyone dressed up in those wonderful costumes. It was all wonderful, and it went on all day and all night. I loved it. (Gardner 243)

At first, the Spanish press was equally fascinated with her. When Gardner came to Spain in April 1950 to film *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman*, the press followed her around Madrid, and tracked her to Seville, Barcelona and Tossa del Mar. And as Gardner continued to return to Spain throughout the 1950s—eventually purchasing a house on the outskirts of Madrid in 1955—the press continued to write about her fashion, love affairs and passion for bullfighting.

This chapter addresses Gardner's star image as that of a consumer of Spanish folklore. I will first analyze photos and captions of Gardner dressed up in a *traje de volantes* and a mantilla during her first visit to Spain in 1950 to show how the glamour of her star body was read as enhancing the beauty of Spanish folkloric dress in the Spanish press. Gardner's attendance at bullfights and her relationships with bullfighters in Spain circulated her image throughout the country even more. Specifically, her consumption of

---

[79] This phrase comes from the caption of a photo of Ava Gardner watching Mario Cabré fight in Las Arenas, from the article "A los extranjeros les gustan los toros, y ahora, además, lo dicen" by Antonio Valencia, published in the magazine *Fotos* on March 10, 1951, p. 17.

Spanish clothing, festivals and men as circulated in the Spanish press helped to rhetorically construct a specific sort of Spanish folklore as desirable within Spain at the same moment in time that this folklore was being used by the Franco regime to attract American tourists to Spain. Ava Gardner's touristic consumption of Spanish folklore spread certain national symbols both within Spain and abroad and helped to consolidate internal and external projections of Spain.

One of the most obvious ways in which we see *Hispanidad* influencing Gardner's star discourse is in photos published of her in traditional Spanish dress. The *traje de sevillana*, with its polka-dots, ruffled skirt and fringed shawl comprised one aspect of the folkloric image that the Franco government projected both within Spain and to the outside world. Not long after Gardner arrived in Spain to film *Pandora and the Flying Dutchman*, she attended the Feria de Sevilla.[80] On April 29, 1950, ¡*Hola*! magazine published two photos of her taken at the fair. Granted, ¡*Hola*! magazine also published a slew of other images of Gardner on the film set, in street clothing, in formal wear, posing with servants, and with members of the cast and crew ("En Sevilla…En Tossa" 14). The combination of the shots taken in Seville with all these other pictures might make us discard what we see as just another glimpse of a star playing dress-up. And yet, in the top left photo (the first one the eye is drawn to on the page), under the banner stating, "En Sevilla", we see a full-body shot of Gardner wearing a *traje de volantes*, complete with white polka dots, ruffled skirts and sleeves, a shawl and big hoop earrings. She stares straight at the camera, a slight

[80] This is never spelled out explicitly, and dates are not given in her biography or autobiography. The *Feria de Sevilla* begins about 2 weeks after Semana Santa. Easter in 1950 was April 9th, and two weeks after April 9th puts her in Seville around April 23rd, which coincides with the timeline found in ¡*Hola*!'s coverage of Gardner's first trip to Spain. This particular trip to Seville is not a big deal in her star discourse now—at least in her English-speaking star discourse, given that all her trips to Spain have been subsumed under the idea of Ava Gardner in Exotic Spain—but the images remain and reinforce her perceived 'Spanishness.'

smile accentuating her cheekbones as she rests her left hand on a column behind her. Frankly, she looks Spanish, and the caption highlights this uncanny resemblance:

> La popular estrella cinematográfica Ava Gardner, ataviada con el típico vestido de volantes y con los españolísimos y clásicos claveles adornándole el cabello, como cualquier mocita de la tierra de María Santísima, fotografiada durante su visita a una de las casetas instaladas en el ferial. ("En Sevilla…En Tossa" 14)

Had the caption not pointed out that the woman wearing this typically Spanish costume was actually Ava Gardner, it is possible that an ¡*Hola*! reader in 1950 would dismiss the photo as that of a stereotypical Andalusian woman. As it is, photo and caption reveal a striking amount of information regarding Gardner's star discourse within Spain and how metonyms of *Hispanidad* 'stick' to her star persona and unite her with the country.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, phenotype played a role in the Franco government's propaganda, and it consistently appeared in film and gossip magazines as an indicator of approval or even popularity of certain stars. Even Gardner herself recognized that her popularity in Spanish-speaking countries most likely had to do with her looks. According to her biographer Lee Server, she told David Hanna: "'They like me because I look Spanish," while they were on a publicity tour in South America promoting *The Barefoot Contessa* (300-301). Gardner's idealized body and her phenotypical resemblance to an idealized Spanishness consistently appear in articles about her, and they certainly contributed to an ambiguous construction of her ethnicity in Spanish magazines.

This photo shows that Gardner wasn't a typical Hollywood star to be admired from afar, but rather, that she was a kindred spirit to the typical Spanish woman.[81] She was so much like any other Spanish woman that she wore the same clothes—and not just the same fashionable clothes, but the same national clothes. In this case, Sevillian/Andalusian dress

[81] Another photo from the "En Sevilla…En Tossa" spread shows her standing between two maids, commenting in the caption that Ava "ha querido retratarse sin regatear su afecto a la servidumbre de la magnífica torre del señor Draper, donde se aloja en Tossa" (14).

becomes a metonym for the country as a whole, in keeping with the Franco regime's use of Andalusian popular culture to represent Spain's difference from the outside world. As Karin Wurst argues, national costumes help to culturally construct national identity and pride, while also providing a "sense of belonging to one's country with body and soul" (376). And the "very Spanish" carnations adorning her head are the icing on the cake, since the *traje de volantes* is not complete without them. Finally, the caption's reference to La Macarena, the most famous statue of the Virgin Mary in Spain and the patroness of bullfighters, links Andalusian popular culture with the particular brand of Catholicism exercised under the Franco regime, as the Macarena stands as a symbol of Catholic survival against Republican atheists and communists during the Civil War.[82]

The second photo of Gardner at the *Feria de Sevilla* is a long shot of her riding through Seville in a horse-drawn carriage, and its caption is even more explicit about her Spanish looks:

> Cualquiera que no lo sepa, no podría sospechar que la bella muchacha que aparece en el pescante del coche no es una auténtica señorita sevillana de esas que hacen más luminosas y bellas las mañanas de la feria al recorrer el paseo ataviada con la gracia y el garbo que por allá abajo se estila. Como en la foto primera, se trata de Ava Gardner, para la que estuvieron volando piropos a su paso por las calles sevillanas por su porte juncal y saleroso. "¡Niño, descúbrete, que es el Plan Marshall de la belleza!" (14)

The reference to the Marshall Plan ensures that Gardner's presence in Spain is read as a sort of cultural diplomacy. The Marshall Plan, or European Recovery Program, tried to ensure that Western European countries wracked by the destruction of World War II did not fall into the hands of Communism. Under the Marshall Plan, the US government gave

[82] At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the Church of San Gil—where the Virgen of the Macarena is traditionally housed—was targeted by arsonists. The Macarena survived by being hidden in the house of a member of the confraternity charged with protecting her (Redacción). During the Spanish Civil War and after, the Macarena was used by nationalists and members of the Church as propaganda against the Republican cause (García López, 124).

over $13 billion in economic assistance to Western European democracies such as Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy. Spain did not receive aid under the Marshall Plan due to its neutrality during the Second World War, but this did not stop the Franco government from soliciting US aid in other forms.[83] To label Gardner the "Marshall Plan of beauty" as this caption does, is to recognize the political diplomacy inherent in cultural exchange. Gardner looks like an "authentic Sevillian woman" and only those in the know (such as ¡*Hola*! magazine's readers) know that this image is simply illusion, a sophisticated "dressing up" of the Hollywood star.

The phrase "dressing up" is a peculiar one. The "up" seems to indicate that in the imagined change, some sort of improvement is made upon the original, an imitation of something more desirable. Often, the target of the game of dress-up is something more glamorous than we might consider ourselves to be; we choose to dress up as people we want to be. According to Nigel Thrift, glamour "blurs the boundary between person and thing in order to produce greater captivation" (291). As a Hollywood star, Gardner was used to putting on costumes and acting out a role, and in fact, in an interview with *Primer Plano* on April 23, 1950, she indicates her excitement to wear a Spanish dress: "¿Su mayor ilusión en estos momentos? Probarme un estupendo traje de volantes que me llevaré a la Feria de Sevilla para ir a la grupa" (Morales "Se rueda en exteriores: Ava Gardner, primer premio de bajar escaleras" 23). Gardner actively participated in the costuming of her as Spanish (tales of her fiery temper indicate that she would not go along with anything if she

[83] See Pablo León Aguinaga *Sospechosos habituales: el cine norteamericano, los Estados Unidos, y la España franquista, 1939-1960*, Rodrigo Botero *Ambivalent Embrace: America's Troubled Relations with Spain from the Revolutionary War to the Cold War*, Carlos Elordi *El amigo americano: De Franco a Aznar: una adhesión inquebrantable*, Neal Rosendorf *Franco Sells Spain to America: Hollywood, Tourism and Public Relations as Postwar Spanish Soft Power*, among others.

was not already inclined to do so).[84] But it is the way in which this dressing up functions in the Spanish press that I am most interested in.

In one of the first bullfights Gardner attended, at the Feria de Sevilla, she wore a mantilla, and the images of her published in ¡*Hola*! one month later reinforce a representation of Gardner as an authentic Spanish woman. According to the caption, she is "ataviada a la española con la típica mantilla que realza su magnífica belleza", but rather than her beauty elevating this typically Spanish vestment, ¡*Hola*!'s writer claims that it is the mantilla that makes her more beautiful. ("Cuatro gestos de Ava Gardner en los toros" 20). By dressing like a Spanish woman, Gardner raises her own beauty to its highest potential (according to ¡*Hola*!), while also providing the Spanish public with consumable markers of glamour that coincide with markers of *Hispanidad*. Though a close-up, we can see how Gardner's mantilla and comb are taller and more elaborate than that of the elderly woman sitting next to her; in three of the four photos, the man directly behind Gardner is standing up (perhaps to watch the action over her head). This costuming served to reinforce the Spanish nation as desirable, even as it grafted ambiguity onto Gardner's star discourse by way of the *españolada*.

The *españolada* reduced Spain to flamenco and bullfighting, and was thus heavily panned by male Spanish critics, according to Eva Woods (*White Gypsies* 2). Nonetheless, the popularity of the *españolada* for women and queer audiences of all classes helped the on-screen representations of the Gypsy become "symbolically central for both the national imaginary and its market" (Woods *White Gypsies* 2). The way in which Gypsiness was marked cinematographically was not only through race and skin color, but also through the iconography of the *españolada* (certain spaces such as the patio or tavern, props such as

[84] Tales of Gardner's fiery temper also coincide with stereotyped representations of passionate gypsies.

iron streetlamps and window railings, and popular costumes, such as the *traje de sevillana* or the torero's *traje de luces*) (Benet and Sánchez Biosca 566). In 1944, Florián Rey (renowned director of *españolada* films) defended his oeuvre as not pertaining to the *españolada* genre, given that for him, *españolada* is "la España que un extranjero recoge y presenta sin conocerla, sin haberla vivido, sin amarla como la conocemos, la vivimos y la amamos nosotros" (Benet and Sánchez Biosca 560). This quotation emphasizes a certain confusion as to whether *españolada* is a derogatory term pertaining to the ways in which foreigners oversimplify and exoticize Spain, consuming and colonizing the country for themselves and portraying it as backwards and other, while at the same time this folklore is held up as deriving from a particularly national and local love for the country. Anyone who willingly dresses up in the folkloric costume must also feel that same love. According to Sara Ahmed, love is a way of "being-for-the-nation," and it also "reproduces the collective as ideal through producing a particular kind of subject whose allegiance to the ideal makes it an ideal in the first place" (*Cultural Politics* 123). Even a foreigner, through expressions of love, can come to form part of a nation (Rey's quote simply implies that foreigners cannot love enough, or in the same way, as natives). And a foreigner's expressions of love for a country idealize that country, converting the foreigner into a near-native through the allegiance brought about by love.

This is exactly the sort of international relations "soft-power jiu-jitsu" that historian Neal Rosendorf argues the Franco regime performed. The Franco regime used US soft power (such as tourism and filmmaking) to benefit its own purposes, thus "undercutting the Gramscian conception of cultural hegemony" (8). The cultural imperialism of *Hispanidad* (promoted by the Franco regime) confronted the US's own cultural imperialism (propagated by capitalism) and was able to hold its own. US tourism to Spain

boomed in the 1950s, aided by the Franco regime's willingness to promote foreign film production within Spain. As Rosendorf argues:

> Local American filmmaking efforts held a significant value in helping to cultivate a positive image for a government with an image problem, through positive portrayals of Spain and Spaniards, and the imprimatur of both glamour and 'normality' conferred by Hollywood operations in the country. (48)

Hollywood stars brought glamour and panache to Spain, and their presence served to normalize the regime and its policies not only in the US, but also worldwide, thanks to the reach of Hollywood films. Nowhere was this glamour and panache seen more clearly than in Ava Gardner's life in Spain, first as visitor and tourist from 1950-1955, and then as resident from 1955-1968. Gardner makes for such an interesting case study because she is a good example of how a star's discourse mutated within Spain.

Before Gardner arrived in Spain, she was just another pretty face, another typical American star, with nothing special that set her apart for a Spanish audience. A photo spread of her with family in North Carolina, published in *Primer Plano* on June 26, 1950, accentuates her down-to-earth simplicity and love of family life, as she washes dishes and chats over tea with her sisters, Elsie and Ines (or as *Primer Plano* states, "Inés –vamos a escribirlo como Dios manda"[85]), but such a 'return-to-roots' photo shoot would also have appealed to readers in the American South or Midwest, and so was most likely cut word for word from a story run in the American press ("Su hogar dulce de Carolina dulce hogar para Ava Gardner" 3). A review of *The Great Sinner* in January 2, 1950 notes of her performance: "Ava Gardner, —anodina en tantas películas—es una excelente y deliciosa actriz dramática, llena de diafanidad y de belleza" (Tello 23). Referring to Gardner's acting as "anodyne" implies a criticism of her earlier cinematic roles as stereotyped or one-

[85] Ines versus Inés: such a change reflects the ways in which the Spanish language served as a propagandistic tool under the regime, requiring that foreign names be altered or adjusted to fit their Spanish counterparts.

dimensional, perhaps because of the way she was portrayed onscreen as little more than a great beauty whose physical image was the most important aspect of her onscreen presence.

Critics in Spain praised Gardner's beauty and simplicity early on in her career. On January 29, 1950, *Primer Plano* refers to her "peregrina belleza" [outlandish beauty] as inspiring love stories (Ramirez 14). And *Primer Plano* had capitalized on this beauty earlier to sell an interview with director Robert Leonard in October 1949, by using one small comment that he makes about Gardner to title the piece "Ava Gardner, vista por un experto en estrellas," and run two glamour shots of her on the same page. Leonard mentions the time he predicted that Gardner would become a great star: "La linda joven sólo tenía que hacer una aparición muda en la cinta 'El embrujo de un vals'; pero el director, impresionado por su belleza y personalidad, le confirió unas líneas de diálogo, y exclamó a la sazón: '¡Esa chica tiene la chispa que podría convertirla en una gran estrella!'" (Blasco 23). The fact that the editors of *Primer Plano* worked to make the page about Gardner, even though the article definitely was not, indicates her growing international stardom. That said, the two photos that accompany this article address different aspects of her star persona. The top right photo shows her relaxed, leaning back over a pool chair outdoors, with her hair pulled back with bangs. She looks fresh, young, relaxed, 'natural', and the caption accentuates this: "Ava Gardner, la estrella de 'The Great Sinner', que al natural se presenta con el cabello oscuro. The lower left photo shows her in a cardigan and dark pants with the caption: "Pero es rubia en sus películas". By 1949, none of her star vehicles had required her to dye her hair blonde, even though she seems to have done so occasionally for herself. Nonetheless, this contrast between brunette and blond indicates that her stardom was based on a girl-next-door simplicity that is obscured by the labor (and hair

dye) required for her films.[86] This simplicity is accentuated by her clothing and make-up choices. As Arlene Dahl states: "Ava didn't have to wear makeup. She had naturally beautiful skin, and great color to her lips. She dressed very casually; she was never so happy as when she wore slacks and a blouse." (Gardner 197).

This simplicity is emphasized in an article in ¡*Hola*! that ran on April 1, 1950, just a few weeks before Gardner arrived in Spain. In calling Gardner "La nueva reina de Hollywood", ¡*Hola*! avers that Gardner has replaced Rita Hayworth as the femme fatale par excellence, with her "burning eyes and sensual, suggestive mouth" (12). At the same time, the article notes: "Dicen que es encantadora por su sencillez; que adora las travesuras y que posee un profundo sentido del humor que la hace la más adorable de las muchachas" (12). Though humor does not generally form a part of Franquista propaganda, the emphasis on simplicity does reinforce the ideals expounded by the Franco regime, as does another line in the article: "Su vida en la actualidad es de sacrificio y de esfuerzo. Estudia danzas y practica numerosos deportes" (12). Given that the gender discourse of the Franco regime promoted hard work and sacrifice for women, and that dances and sports were popular propagandistic efforts of the *Sección Femenina*, linking these terms to Gardner's star discourse primes the Spanish audience to see her as 'just like us'.

This article does not mention her future arrival in Spain, but by April 1, rumors were surely circulating that it was going to happen. On March 4, 1950, *Primer Plano* announced that "Ava Gardner y James Mason (sic) vienen a España," elaborating that "'El holandés errante' es una película inglesa, pero todos los exteriores se van a rodar en España, y con este motivo vendrán aquí y los conoceremos; sus protagonistas, Ava Gardner y James Mason (sic)" (García "Moviola: Ava Gardner y James Mason vienen a España" 20).

[86] The gypsies of the *españolada* also had dark hair, though many Andalusians are blonde.

Granted, as we saw with Carmen Miranda and Joan Crawford, the Spanish press often announced that stars would visit Spain and then such appearances never materialized. Yet, this particular news notice is highly specific, mentioning details about the film in question and even the precise filming location of Tossa de Mar. The one detail that seems questionable is the concept of meeting or knowing the stars. Certainly, the members of the press would have the opportunity to meet Gardner and Masson in interviews, but García seems to be including his readers in this 'we' who will come to know Ava Gardner in person, and in this way, seems to be speaking for the entire Spanish populace. Some Spaniards certainly would have the opportunity to meet her, especially members of the government and of the press, hotel workers and any fans who went out of their way to see her. A star visiting the country allows for more direct contact with their glamour and fame than does simply seeing their roles onscreen or reading about them in the magazines.

When Gardner arrived in Spain, the press again accentuated her simplicity in dress and make-up. ¡*Hola*! published the first article upon her arrival in Spain, noting that "Los amplios jerseys cerrados constituyen su atavío favorito usados con faldas de lana y zapatos de tacón bajo" ("Semblanza a gotas de Ava Gardner" 13). This simplicity makes her star discourse hard to commodify, though, and questions glamour as an affective economy, given that Ava Gardner's glamour was inimitable. This calls into question Thrift's claim that "Glamour is about that special excitement and attractiveness that characterizes some objects and people. Glamour is a form of secular magic, conjured up by the commercial sphere" (297). Glamour captivates viewers because of its uniqueness and because it contains within it the elements of its replication. Style circulates affectively, producing glamour, that "secular magic" that both seduces and manipulates us into copying it for ourselves. Style appropriates the stickiness of affect to forge a link between the originator and the replicator, between celebrity and fan. If affect is that subtle state of change before

emotion (accumulating through its own circulation and building towards emotion), and if glamour functions affectively, as Thrift has argued, then costuming as a Spaniard helped to forge the affective bonds demonstrated in Spain towards Ava Gardner.

Gardner may have been characterized by a special excitement and attractiveness, and her star image may have been predicated on consumption, but it wasn't a consumption that tried to imitate her beauty, but rather her own consumption of men, places and things. Before Gardner arrived in Spain, she was just another Hollywood star with ethereal beauty and a down-to-earth personality. Traveling to Spain brought Gardner off the screen and into life for so many Spaniards, and her love of the Spanish traditions promoted by the Franco regime reinforced their desirability. After all, Gardner showed a strong affective attachment towards Spain. According to Lee Server, Spain enchanted Gardner; the nightlife, sangria, flamenco, and dancing until dawn all fed her partying ways (389). And she readily confessed her love for the country in an interview with *Primer Plano* in 1953: "España es el país que más me llama, que más cosas me dice…, no sé; la prueba es que es el país que más visito y al que siempre estoy deseando volver" (Morales "Ava, otra vez en España" 10).

It is interesting that Gardner claims that Spain "spoke" to her, given her own difficulties in learning the Spanish language. She dove into learning the basics –on her first trip to Madrid, *Primer Plano* mentions that she wandered through Madrid with a Spanish-English dictionary (Barreira 3)—but she never moved beyond rudimentary Spanish skills. Gardner herself admits that her "spoken Spanish was never quite what it should have been" (388). In spite of her weak language skills, Sofía Morales comments on how well she knows Spanish in an interview in August 1953: "La voz encantadora de Ava, que es de una belleza tremenda, mezcla siempre en su conversación palabras españolas, porque a Ava ya le falta muy poquito para empezar a hablar el español, y si aún no lo habla, lo comprende

perfectamente" ("Pues señores" 20). Even more notably, Morales praises her for being able to understand Spain and the privilege of being a Spaniard: "– Haber nacido en España es una cosa de mucha importancia. ¡Qué suerte! – Pero saberla comprender como usted es todavía más importante" ("Pues señores" 21).

One of the most striking ways in which Gardner was seen to have understood Spain was in her love of bullfighting (and of bullfighters). This passion was well-documented in the Spanish press, and it played into the propaganda that the Franco dictatorship promoted regarding Spanish national identity. After all, bullfighting was the national sport under the Franco regime, and Gardner admits that she was "caught up in the passion and pageantry of the bullfighting ritual," even if she needed a few drinks to relax her nerves while she watched (Gardner 404-405). A bullfight was one of the first things that she saw upon arrival in Spain, as her *Pandora* co-star Mario Cabré offered a demonstration for only her while she was in Madrid (Morales "Se rueda en exteriores: Ava Gardner primer premio de bajar escaleras" 23). And bullfighting is time and again the reason why she returned to explore other cities in Spain.

In August 1953, while on vacation after filming *Mogambo*, Gardner spent two weeks in Spain, where she traveled to Bilbao for the express purpose of seeing Juan Silveti fight (del Valle, A. 10). Along with this article appear two photos of her at the bullfight, captioned:

> Ava Gardner, que estuvo encantadora dejándose ver, ya muy al final se colocó sus gafas oscuras para librar sus bellos ojos del incómodo resol. Y es que Ava, admiradora cien por cien de nuestra Fiesta, es una estupenda espectadora, a la que no gusta (sic) dejar escapar un detalle. (del Valle, A. 10)

By portraying her as not wanting to miss any moment of the bullfight, del Valle shows her to be not only a stupendous, but also a courageous spectator, even if Gardner admits to needing to smoke an excessive quantity of cigarettes while she watches to calm her nerves

(11). After her first visit to Spain, Gardner tells Vick Rueda Grisolia in a special for *Primer Plano* "Me encantaría poder asistir a todas las corridas de toros, y cada vez que Mario toree, tomarme unas cuantas píldoras para los nervios, y de esta manera poder divertirme en la corrida" ("Ava Gardner regresa de España y éstas son sus impresiones" 11). So, Gardner attended bullfights every chance she could, and she loved them in spite (or perhaps because) of the anxieties and nerves they provoked.

Nonetheless, it was not just the bullfights (or the substances taken in order to watch them) that Gardner enjoyed, but rather the pageantry, the costumes, and the men. Gardner states: "The bullfights made for beautiful, exciting pageants, as did the fiestas, when everyone dressed up in those wonderful costumes" (243). It seems like the bullfighters' *traje de luces* also fascinated her, as ¡*Hola*! published a photo of Ava dressed as Pandora, holding a bullfighter's cape over her right shoulder (Bengoa 15). The caption reads:

> CON EL CAPOTE DEL TORERO AMADO. – Ava Gardner se ha querido retratar para nuestros lectores con el capote que Mario Cabré luce en la película 'Pandora'. Esta fotografía, obtenida el pasado martes en la plaza de toros de Gerona, es como un homenaje al hombre que hoy llena su corazón y para el cual únicamente vive en sus horas libres de trabajo. (Bengoa 15)

This romance filled the papers at the time, but the truth is that Cabré was not the only bullfighter with whom Gardner would be associated amorously over the course of her life; she had a short love affair with Luis Miguel Dominguín, and according to renowned striptease artist Tempest Storm, "She had a knack for collecting [bullfighters]" (Server 387).

Case in point, according to one popular rumor of the time, on one of Ava Gardner's many visits to Madrid, she had an *affaire de coeur* with a Spanish bullfighter. They fell into bed together, made passionate love, and when the deed was done, the man jumped up and started putting on his clothes. Gardner—exhausted from their sexual theatrics—

languished about under the sheets, looking for some post-coital cuddling. When she noticed the man dressing, she asked him, "What are you doing? Where are you going?" and he responded, "Pues, ¡pa' contárselo!" ["I have to go tell everybody!"] before bolting out the door. In his biography of Ava Gardner, Marcos Ordóñez includes a segment from Carlos Abella, one of Luis Miguel Dominguín's friend's and confidants, in which Abella claims that Dominguín had simply invented the phrase when chatting with his friends to make them laugh (118).

This anecdote demonstrates the idea of sexual conquest as a metaphor for cultural and imperial conquest. Specifically, I am curious as to what aspects of the sexual relationship between a foreign female film star and an idealized Spanish male (bullfighter) would resonate so strongly in Spanish society that it would birth a joke that has endured for more than 50 years. This joke reveals the star as the consummate object of desire and the Spanish bullfighter as her ideal lover. In this regard it allows us to question how desire functions affectively to connect stars, lovers and fans, the rhetoric of cultural encounters and the power differentials inherent in soft diplomacy (as well as how those power differentials are subverted).

Desire in this joke is rhetorically constructed in both the sexual conquest between bullfighter and star, as well as in the impulse toward discourse contained in the punchline. This desire manifests itself in the affective worlds that celebrities build. As P. David Marshall argues, "[celebrities] represent the reorganization of collective identities into the affective economy of the contemporary capitalist democracy" (Marshall 247). Though Marshall's work primarily addresses post-Cold War US society, the affective economy of stardom that he references began under Hollywood's studio system. As star images from the Hollywood studio system circulated in the world, this affective economy expanded across the globe. Celebrity thrives on cultivated distance and limited access; however,

much like the platitude, 'absence makes the heart grow fonder', that distance does not necessarily indicate a lack of emotional connection. Rather, in the case of celebrity, carefully calibrated limitations to access have the potential to augment the public's desire for information, as well as the public's affective attachment to a star. Transnational stars forge their own affective economies, and desire for Gardner circulated in Spain via newspaper articles and gossip. Consumption of Gardner consuming Spain solidified aspects of external Francoist propaganda of Spanish national identity within Spain and further fostered positive affects towards those symbols as signs of national pride.

Stars have a reputation to uphold and a renowned image whose contradictions reproduce ideological norms, and the discourses of transnational stars carry certain national stereotypes across borders. Though bullfighters were also transnational stars in the middle of the twentieth century, their popularity only spread from Spain to other European countries or to Latin America and vice versa; rarely did it spread to the United States.[87] By naming a famous film actress and a bullfighter, the joke captures the popularity of their star discourses for its own purposes, feeding and feeding off of the image of two cultural icons. In addition, the punchline exploits the power differential between them; bullfighters in Spain and Hollywood movie stars filming in Spain on location are not the same. The sexual encounter between the two stars is not illustrated as an encounter between two nameless individuals, but rather, as a clash of cultural stereotypes, supposing characteristics of the foreign identity of the star (such as her sexual promiscuity), even as the punchline lands on the Spanish male as an insecure braggart, seeking to prove his masculinity.

[87] And when it did spread to the US, it was by way of a figure like Dominguín or Cabré, for their sexual relationship with a Hollywood star.

In fact, this joke could be read as a self-deprecating tale of Spanish masculinity: the Spanish male in question is so focused on the *tale* of sexual conquest and on sharing juicy gossip that he cannot relax and enjoy the moment. It is not enough for the Spanish male to bed the big-name foreign star…it only counts if everyone knows. Thus, the joke speaks to the definition of hegemonic Spanish masculinity over the course of the twentieth century (particularly under the Franco regime). According to RW Connell, our understanding of contemporary masculinity is a relatively recent social construction that demarcates a particular space within gender relations (Connell 68-71). Connell identifies various types of masculinity, defining hegemonic masculinity as the incarnation of the patriarchy that gains its legitimacy by way of a sizeable social contract with women (Connell 77-80). The idealized man is then created as an aesthetic version of hegemonic masculinity, varying slightly depending on the era and culture under which each appears. Under the Franco regime, the figure of the bullfighter came to represent idealized masculinity.[88]

If celebrities help to shape collective identities, then the fact that this joke refers to two stars (a film star and a famous bullfighter) helps to illustrate it as a part of the discourse of national and gender identities that occurred under the Franco regime. Various memoirs (such as those by Rafael Torres, Rafael Abella and Carmen Martín Gaite) help to reconstruct the gender divisions and societal paradoxes of the Franco regime. The portrait that Torres paints for us of male social life under Franco is one of isolation, wherein paradoxical expectations created a double morality for men while at the same time obscuring the power that they commanded within the patriarchy. The double morality that Spanish men had to confront revealed itself in the ideal of the chaste familial home, even

[88] For more on the idealization of the bullfighter under the Franco regime, see Garry Marvin *Bullfight*, Adrian Shubert *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight*, Timothy Mitchell *Blood Sport: A Social History of Spanish Bullfighting*, Rafael Núñez Florencio, "Los toros, fiesta nacional," and Sarah Pink *Women and Bullfighting: Gender, Sex and the Consumption of Tradition*, among others.

while the popularity of brothels flourished along with social expectations of sexual conquest (Abella 154). Social divisions contributed to the difficulty of male sexual conquest, as only a privileged minority of wealthy men (capitalists, aristocracy, athletes, and so on) could ignore the expectations of purity without suffering any consequences. Homosexual men were excluded entirely from conceptions of masculinity propagated by the Franco regime, even as aspects of Francoist propaganda implied a certain homoeroticism (Labanyi "Imperial desire" 11-12). As part of this privileged minority, the bullfighter represented a pinnacle of popular Spanish masculinity through the bravery with which he faced the bulls. In contrast, the monastic soldier—chaste yet virile—represented the idealized masculinity of the Falange under the regime (Blasco Herranz "Género y nación" 62-63). In spite of competing ideals of masculinity, however, all Spanish men (or at least, those who were not imprisoned, in hiding, or dead) were recognized as citizens under the state.

As such, the joke also speaks to a specific understanding of Spanish national identity under Franco, wherein women's bodies physically birth the nation (of men) but are not citizens. This joke does not and cannot have a Spanish woman as the object of Spanish male sexual desire. In thinking through the joke as an object of (and statement on) Spain in the mid-twentieth century, we must understand that it reflects the gender mores of the Franco regime. Spanish women were subjects of the state, integral to perpetuating the corporeal integrity of the nation through childbirth yet forbidden from participating in the state apparatus as citizens. In addition, Spanish women were expected to uphold a strict moral code and double standard that required them to maintain a chaste and virginal purity, even when married. Thus, most Spanish men—especially those on the bottom rungs of the social ladder—struggled to satisfy their sexual desires under the Franco regime and had to resort to soliciting prostitutes. Under the Franco regime, Spanish women were off-limits,

sexually speaking, and this joke reflects that fact. The actress in the joke is foreign, precisely because foreign women were allowed to be sexualized discursively (and as such were overly sexualized) under the regime.

As Anne McClintock argues in *Imperial Leather*, "Sexuality as a trope for other power relations was certainly an abiding aspect of imperial power" (McClintock 14). McClintock argues that race, gender and sexuality all unfolded and developed asymmetrically under the imperial project, but how can we understand this joke under the (mostly) post-imperial Franco state (that is nonetheless defined by imperial nostalgia).[89] If we think of sexual conquest as a metonym for imperial conquest (remembering especially how sexual conquest of foreign women often *is* the symbol and primary proof of imperial conquest), then this joke also illustrates one of the ways in which traces of Spanish imperial power persisted in historical and cultural memory via the sexual conquest of foreign women. Though we know now that Gardner did not like sleeping alone and that she enjoyed a wide variety of sexual exploits, the joke in question does not have anything to do with what she (or any other woman) might enjoy.[90] Rather, it hinges on the idea that bedding a Hollywood star nonetheless was quite the carnal accomplishment for any Spanish male living under the Franco regime, including for famous toreros.

Finally, the joke's punchline—¡Pues, pa' contárselo! —revolves around discourse as defining both the star and the bullfighter. If the function of stardom is to incite talk about the star, then one must wonder: if a bullfighter sleeps with a Hollywood star and no one ever hears about it, did the deed ever happen? In fact, since the joke apparently came from Dominguín himself, we could contemplate the gendered aspects of discourse, that allow

---

[89] Under the Franco dictatorship, Spain retained its protectorates in the Western Sahara and Northern Morocco.

[90] Server relates various stories of Gardner asking men to sleep with her at night with no sex involved (346-347)

the man the agency to tell a tale, while the woman remains the subject waiting to be told. This joke points to how gossip—the weight of the tale and the act of reporting—functioned to bolster star images in Spain, as both published reports of celebrities and private encounters with stars in the country came to shape Spaniards' understandings of foreigners and of themselves.[91] In this way, rumors, jokes and even oral histories reveal themselves as important facets of the discursive construction of identity.

The dictatorship certainly would not have approved of Gardner's carousing and sleeping around, and she states as much in her autobiography: "I represented everything they disapproved of. I was a woman, living alone, divorced, non-Catholic, and an actress." (386-387). But Gardner's life in Spain provided all sorts of fuel not only for the Spanish and foreign press for years to come.[92] Ava Gardner was the consummate star commodity within Spain from 1950 through the 1960s, and consumption of Gardner's image overwhelmed Spain at times, perhaps in part because she so avidly consumed the country. Nowhere is this more evident than in her role as María Vargas in *The Barefoot Contessa*; her consumption of Spain reached a point of her becoming Spanish, at least in front of the camera. Gardner claims that *The Barefoot Contessa* was the "apogee of [her] life as a so-called star" (348). Yet it also functions in her star discourse to further exoticize her looks. Her roles in Hollywood tended towards the glamorously exotic, and her costumes reflect that. Gardner's phenotype implied an ambiguous ethnic blend that contributed to her being cast as the partially black Julie La Verne in *Show Boat* in 1951. In addition, *The Barefoot Contessa* solidified her exoticization by casting her as a Spaniard shortly before she settled

[91] See Besnier's *Gossip and the Everyday Production of Politics*, and *The Politics of Humor* (eds. Kesse & Merziger)

[92] Gardner's popularity in Spain certainly spoiled during the 1960s (Server 448). However, historical memory has been kinder, and we continue to witness her popularity in Spain today, through her inclusion in historical novels regarding the early 1950s, such as *Don de lenguas* (2013) and *El gran frío (2014)*, and in recent Spanish biographies of Frank Sinatra, like *Sinatra. Nunca volveré a ese maldito país* (2015) by Francisco Reyero.

down in Madrid. It also is the role that most people identify her with, according to Gardner (342).

The Barefoot Contessa strongly linked Gardner with Spain, in spite of the fact that the storyline more closely reflects Rita Hayworth's rise to fame than her own. Yet, as Server notes, "there were numerous parallels between Ava Gardner and the invented contessa—her humble beginnings, her independence, her tempestuous affairs, her long-running friendship with Howard Hughes, not to mention the shared fondness for bare feet." (279) The role also allowed Gardner the opportunity to show off her meager Spanish language skills and her love of flamenco:

> She felt particularly excited and pleasingly challenged by Contessa's dancing sequence, her first on film. Another case of life and art intersecting, she had, since *Pandora*, a growing enchantment with the rhythms and passions of flamenco. For three weeks she threw herself into dance rehearsals, and the sequence—filmed in the Tivoli olive groves outside Rome, Ava moving with flair and intensity, daringly erotic in a tight (and in some shots nearly transparent) sweater—would become one of her career favorites. (Server 286)

A tracking long shot of this scene follows Rossano Brazzi's Count Vicenzo entering a Gypsy camp, following the sound of music to witness Gardner's Vargas dancing a sultry and sensual flamenco in bare feet.

The Barefoot Contessa tells the story of Maria Vargas (Ava Gardner), a Spanish Gypsy dancer whose debut in a Hollywood film turns her into an international star and sex symbol. The film is told in flashback by Harry Dawes (Humphrey Bogart), the movie director and writer who helped discover Vargas and would become one of her most trusted confidants. Vargas' beauty and subsequent fame lead her into the arms of three powerful but emotionally bankrupt men—Kirk Edwards (Warren Stevens), the American business tycoon who discovered her; Alberto Bravano (Marius Goring), the Latin American playboy who uses her as a good luck charm at the casinos; and Count Vicenzo Torlato-Favrini

(Rossano Brazzi), Vargas' Prince Charming and the impotent husband who kills her in a fit of jealousy.

Spanish censors were not as harsh on *The Barefoot Contessa* as they might have been, given that Juan Pérez García of CB Films, SA made some slight adjustments to the plot summary that were specifically designed to smooth out some of the (potentially) more contentious plot points. For instance, the plot summary presented to the censors changes the circumstances of María's difficult childhood from one of surviving the Spanish Civil War to one of having lost her mother at a young age. "María que proviene de una familia humilde, ha tenido una niñez desgraciada por haber perdido a su madre y haber sido siempre objeto de un trato áspero y cruel por parte de su madrastra, la cual domina enteramente a su padre, por quien ella siente verdadera adoración." In the original film, however, the dominating woman that the Spaniards claim is her step-mother is actually Vargas' mother. Labeling this abject woman Vargas' step-mother allows for the film to evade any censorial criticism of the mother-daughter relationship, or of the portrayal of a Spanish mother. By emphasizing the adoration that the character feels for her father, the importers at CB Films play up the familial discourse and emphasize the self-sacrifice of María Vargas, as she publicly defends her father in his murder trial.

CB Films also modified the end of the Spanish version of the film to portray an overly jealous Count, rather than an unfaithful Vargas:

> Al entrar el Conde con el cadáver de María y ver a Harry frente a él, se da cuenta de su error; creyó que la visita de María era a otra persona y enfurecido por los celos puso fin a la vida de ella, más al ver a Harry comprende que era a él a quien había ido a visitar y le confiesa que nunca jamás hubiera dudado de él. (Expediente de censura: *La condesa descalza*)

In the original, Vargas does have an extramarital affair, and the Count shoots both her and her lover in a fit of rage; however, since the shooting appears off-screen, this change in the

narration does not really contradict the images shown and simply aids in getting the film past the censors. Indeed, it appears that a part of the machinations involved in navigating the Franquista censorship process were knowing how to cut and summarize beforehand. The plot summary that the censors were presented with is most likely an accurate summary of *The Barefoot Contessa* as it was intended to be shown in Spain. CB Films was able to ensure that the film passed its censorship inspection through key, but subtle, plot adjustments and by emphasizing seemingly trivial aspects about the plot that allowed the censors to read the film in a favorable light.

The censors only called for one cut from the version of the film that they saw: "Suprimir planos de bañistas en la cubierta del barco y los planos de Ava en traje de baño – cuando se la vé de cuerpo entero." Eliminating the images of her in a swimsuit softens the sex appeal of her character for Spanish viewers; it converts both Gardner and her performance as Maria Vargas into that of a more restrained and modest woman (and Gardner was anything but modest—Server recounts tales of her swimming nude in friends' pools and allowing guests to enter her room while she was stark naked). In this way, the only thing that the censors could object to was the excessive emphasis on Ava Gardner's body, and even then, they only cut scenes of her in a bathing suit, not her eroticized flamenco dance in the Gypsy camp.

By 1956, news about Gardner most calls to readers because of the ties that the Spanish press had forged between her and their public. Her glamorousness was no longer distant, but rather, quite real and able to be experienced at *corridas* and *tablaos*: "For all its breathtaking qualities, glamour does not conjure up awe. It operates on a human scale, in the everyday, inviting just enough familiarity to engage the imagination, a glimpse of another life, utopia as a tactile presence" (Thrift 297). Rather than conjuring awe, Thrift proposes that glamour prompts imitation, releasing a desire in the public to mimic popular

aspects of a star's look, such as clothing, accessories or hairstyles. Ava Gardner, then considered one of the world's most beautiful women and one of Hollywood's most glamorous stars, was difficult to imitate, given the simplicity of her look and her exquisite natural beauty. However, her association with articles of *Hispanidad* did allow for some imitation. By actively dressing in the Spanish national costume, Gardner imbues stereotyped markers of *Hispanidad* with a certain glamour and reinforces their consumption.

After Gardner moved to Spain, ¡*Hola*! published a history of her life and men in two parts, claiming:

> No la envidiéis: no es una mujer feliz. Ha obtenido de la vida belleza, éxito y dinero; pero no ha podido tener lo que muchas mujeres que carecen de su atractivo: tranquilidad y un chiquillo. Ha tenido tres maridos y un número indefinible de pretendientes y, sin embargo, se siente horriblemente sola, sin un amor sincero. (Fallaci 16).

In this article, we can see the distance that Gardner's star discourse in Spain had traveled from where it began in 1950. The woman who had been an authentic *sevillana* and whose appropriation of the Spanish mantilla exalted her magnificent beauty to its highest extreme in her first appearances in ¡*Hola*! was by 1957 a woman that none (especially no Spanish women) should envy because she lacked love and children. The near-native reverts back to a foreigner by failing to live up to the local expectations of her gender.

Part Conclusions

In these two chapters, we've stretched a bit beyond the time frame originally established for this study, in order to show how aspects of a star discourse reverberate across time. Aspects of Carmen Miranda and Ava Gardner's star texts surged in Spain in the period between 1945 and 1953 and cohered around ideas of which sorts of bodies, styles and images were "Spanish" or not. But they were put to vastly different uses within the country in the latter part of the 50s and even 1960s in ways that further illuminate how star discourses stretch or contract as they cross national borders. In addition, they demonstrate how the alignment of national propaganda with a transnational star image allows for the appropriation of that star's image for the purposes of (inter)national propaganda. The use of tropicalizing features from Miranda's star discourse to help sell Spain to the US, even as Ava Gardner's presence in Spain and self-professed love of Spanish folklore helped articulate Spanish national identity within the country.

A combination of mass and popular culture guided the Franco regime toward international acceptance, and Franco regime propaganda reflects that journey. The affective economies propagated by capitalism saw elements of Franco propaganda cycle and stick to the images of certain foreign stars. When the exotic elements of a star image led to consumption of that image, as in the case of Carmen Miranda, they helpfully sold Spain abroad. And when a star like Ava Gardner repeatedly consumed certain folkloric elements of Spanish culture that coincided with the national imaginary sold to tourists, it reinforced their status as symbols of Spanish national identity. In this way, costuming—specifically the stylized versions of Spanish costumes that Gardner wore in 1950 on her first trip to Seville, and later as María Vargas—contributed to Gardner's own consumption of Spain, and to foreign consumption of Spain in general via tourism.

In the Introduction, I posited that celebrity images in Spain created a sense of 'felt communal knowing' of foreign stars based around the symbols, values and ideals of *Hispanidad*. By 1953—the accepted end of the isolationist period of the Franco regime—this 'felt communal knowing' resonated most strongly in the star discourses of those actresses who had visited Spain. These actresses were the ones who had most directly engaged with the symbols of *Hispanidad* and who had provided the Spanish press with the most unmediated access to their persons and image. Perhaps in this way, popular culture in Spain reflected the cultural and diplomatic machinations undertaken by the Franco regime to attract US investment. Even as Latin American stars participated in the Spanish cinematic industry as a way to draw Franco Spain closer to the republics that comprised its former colonies, the presence of Hollywood stars, such as Gardner, contributed to the 'felt communal knowing' of the US as an ally and a friend. In this way, transnational star images—and the popular culture of escapism that they tend to be categorized under—overlay complex political operations in Franco Spain and presaged future diplomatic relations.

Conclusion: The Affective Practices of Historical Memory

Tourism—specifically, the Franco regime's embrace of neoliberal economic policies as a way to attract foreign investment—would complete the international rehabilitation of the Franco regime. Though most tourists to Spain would come from Northern European countries, American celebrity tourism also played a role in making Spain under Franco a palatable site for foreign consumption. Neil Rosendorf notes the opening ceremonies of the Castellana Hilton Hotel in 1953 included the presence of Broadway actress Mary Martin and movie star Gary Cooper (30). The creation of Samuel Bronston Studios in Madrid in the late 1950s (where Gardner would film *55 Days at Peking* in 1963) further solidified Spain as a site for transnational stardom, cinematic co-productions and a celebrity tourist destination.[93] The Bronston film with the most enduring legacy is *El Cid*, an epic about the medieval knight Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, starring Charlton Heston and Sofia Loren. But another unproduced Bronston film that brings us into the present was a bio-pic about the life of Queen Isabella of Spain. Perhaps the most notable aspect of Bronston's *Isabella of Spain* was his decision to ignore her expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 (Rosendorf 74).

Fernando Trueba's 2016 film, *La reina de España*, halfway answers the question of how to address Isabella's expulsion of the Jews. At a key moment in the film, producer Sam Spiegelman (Arturo Ripstein) asks writer Jordan Berman (Mandy Patinkin) "What are we two Jews doing in Franco Spain making a film about Queen Isabella?" To which

[93] The opening sequence of *55 Days at Peking* pans across foreigners' compound which serves as the setting of the film. In long shots, it shows the national flags and army bands of the countries caught up in the siege: Russia, the United States, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Japan, and Germany. This sequence does not include the flag of Austro-Hungary—the other nation caught up in the siege—but it does include a close-up of the Spanish flag that would have been used in 1900, even though Spain was not one of the countries involved. I would posit that the Spanish flag was used (and specifically used in close-up, whereas all the other flags appear in a long-shot) as another subtle method of regime propaganda.

Berman replies: "What we've found are non-transferrable funds." Berman later explains to Macarena Granada (Penelope Cruz) that the original script submitted for censorship to the Franco regime was a bio-pic on Christopher Columbus, but that Mr. Franco told them to make a film about Queen Isabella, so he did. In three days. While drunk.

Trueba imagines the production of a Hollywood bio-pic in Spain about Queen Isabella as a sequel to his 1998 blockbuster, *La niña de tus ojos*. *La niña de tus ojos* presented us with Macarena Granada (also played by Penelope Cruz), a beautiful Andalusian singer and film star who travels to Germany with some fellow Spaniards to film a German-Spanish co-production in Berlin. She helps an imprisoned Russian Jew escape Nazi Germany, even as her director and lover, Blas Fontiveros (played by Antonio Resines) is ordered by Joseph Goebbels to remain in Germany to repair the mischief and misunderstandings that Granada's actions have caused. *La reina de España* returns us to Granada's life and that of her colleagues and friends eighteen years later. Now an international star, Granada is the same big-hearted daredevil who will sacrifice the success of a shoot in order to save an innocent life. Though she has not returned to her home country in almost twenty years, she accepts a role as Queen Isabella in an English-language film being made in Madrid and uses the opportunity to reunite with her dear friends and see how they are faring under the Franco regime.

Both *La niña de tus ojos* and *La reina de España* address the making of an international cinematic co-production, with the requisite errors in translation, questions of foreignness and exploitation, and international political movements. That said, *La reina de España* helps to illustrate how foreign star discourses circulated in Spain under the Franco regime, even as it takes great liberties with the subject matter of Hollywood productions in 1950s and 60s Spain by placing a Spanish actress as the star, when in reality, most

Spaniards who participated in such productions were extras or had small speaking roles (Rosendorf 65).

The life of Macarena Granada is modeled after that of Imperio Argentina in *La niña de tus ojos*, but the character becomes something else entirely in *La reina de España*. If anything, in the sequel she becomes an amalgam of many of the women used as case studies in this research. Joan Crawford was a diva and a survivor known for playing indomitable and independent women (not unlike Granada). Dolores del Río and María Félix worked in multiple cinematic industries in their quest for international cinematic fame, and so does Granada. Granada's arrival in Spain is presented by the reporters who greet her as that of a prodigal daughter, much like that of María Félix or Rita Hayworth was when she arrived in Spain for her vacations in the country. Hayworth herself even gets a brief mention in the canteen, as Trini (played by Loles León) tries to impress the gang with her knowledge of all the plastic surgeries that Hollywood stars have had. The exoticization of Carmen Miranda in her tropical costumes is not unlike the self-exoticization of the Andalusian, half-Gypsy Granada within Spain, via both costuming and her thick accent. And finally, Ava Gardner was the Hollywood star of the 1950s whose life was most connected to Spain, given that she lived there for the better part of a decade and that one of her most famous roles (María Vargas of *The Barefoot Contessa*) had her playing a rags-to-riches Gypsy Spanish girl, again, not unlike Granada. The film references Ava and her tumultuous relationship with Frank Sinatra in Granada's press conference upon arrival, as a reporter asks Granada whether it was true that Ava Gardner destroyed a restaurant that Granada was dining at, purely because she'd been sharing a meal with Frank Sinatra. Granada's response: "¡Ay deja eso de una vez por favor! Que además, creo que Ava anda por aquí, así que no la vayamos a liar."

Trueba has actually said that he was more inspired by the life stories of actresses such as Ingrid Bergman "y otras extranjeras que triunfaron allí", perhaps Sofia Loren, Audrey Hepburn, and others in crafting Granada's character development for *La reina de España* (Belinchón "La niña de tus ojos triunfa en Hollywood"). The newsreels that open the film explicitly link her star image with Elizabeth Taylor's portrayal of Cleopatra from the 1960s, even though *La reina de España* is set five years before *Cleopatra* premiered. That said, the film presumes that WASP Hollywood would open its doors to a Hispanic star with a noticeable accent as a leading lady. They might have, but she would have been othered in Hollywood and typecast, and possibly not allowed to be a leading lady (much like what happened with Carmen Miranda during and after WWII). In fact, Trueba alludes to this process by claiming that she started off portraying "indias" and now has become a leading lady. At one point, the film inserts her into the Kirk Douglas Western *Man without a Star* (*Pradera sin ley* in Spanish), in place of Jeanne Crain.

The one place where I would push back is on how this career path would have worked out. Given some of the points that I have developed over the course of this study, it should be clear that foreign women or women who could be perceived as being foreign had to erase their foreign-ness in order to succeed in Hollywood; this is why both María Félix and Dolores del Río sought international stardom in Spanish-speaking cinema, and why Carmen Miranda remained relegated to the role of comedic sidekick for most of her Hollywood career. Macarena Granada as Jeanne Crain has long hair dyed reddish-blonde, but we do not hear her accented English, as we do elsewhere in the film, only the Spanish dubbing performed by Carmen Morando (who had voiced Crain's performance when *Pradera sin ley* was released in Spain). Joan Crawford, Rita Hayworth and Ava Gardner all had to take voice lessons so as to "overcome" their lower-class accents and dialects, and most foreigners found the Hollywood studio system in the 40s and 50s too difficult to

crack. A Spanish film star at the time would have suffered a similar fate, and we know this because of all the type-casting that Cruz herself has suffered to make it in Hollywood in the twenty-first century. Angharad Valdivia has commented that Penelope Cruz "has mounted a full-force attempt to cross over into the US market, with some success," though she notes that Cruz's accent has led to more stereotyped Latina roles for her (138). In historical memory, though, a Spanish actress had the fortune to become an international star working in Hollywood, in spite of the structural and systemic prejudices she would have had to have faced.

This brings us back to the affective power of national pride, and the ways in which the symbols of national identity fostered by Franco propaganda circulated and tied certain foreigners to Spain or not. Folkloric costuming, the Spanish language, phenotype, familial heritage and gender conventions determined the sorts of foreign bodies that could be incorporated into the Spanish national imaginary and those that could not. Foreign female stars had more leeway than others under the regime to defy certain conventions; yet even so, they had to present an image of conformity. Foreign stars could have one-night stands with Spanish bullfighters (such as had María Félix, Ava Gardner, and possibly Rita Hayworth, with 'El Litri'), but the Spanish press would present these affairs as true love that would result in marriage. The freedom allowed these women only existed by the very virtue of their foreign-ness, of the fact that they did not live in the country for long and were never actually going to marry the men that they slept with (contrary to what the Spanish press would have had its audience think at the time). In contrast, Granada must balance her Spanish heritage with her libertinism. Cruz's Macarena Granada is highly fictionalized in this way. In both *La niña de tus ojos* and *La reina de España* she holds a long-running affair with her lover and director Blas Fontiveros, even as she beds a lower class extra in the former and crewman in the latter. Trini certainly frets over Granada's

affair with the crewman, Leo (Chino Darín), though it is unclear whether she fears that Granada will get pregnant or simply that she will fall in love.

Granada's actions in the bedroom call her Spanish heritage into question, but her devotion to her Spanish heritage is questioned in her press conference, as she is asked to explain why she became an American citizen. We also see this in subtler ways, such as a star's clothing choices. Ava Gardner could wear masculine trousers and sweaters in part because she was known as a natural beauty with the ideal feminine body shape. No amount of clothing can negate that. Granada wears robes and skirts in flattering feminine cuts, and in her role as Isabella, she wears sumptuous red velvet and gold accented dresses that hew to the broader color scheme of the film. Trueba's use of saturated reds and yellows (the colors of the Spanish flag) builds a warm cinematic environment that rings false given the harshness of daily life under the Franco regime, but that reflects both the aesthetic of the *españolada* originally created for *La niña de tus ojos* and a type of Spanish nationalism.

La reina de España is not simply a historical fiction film about life under the regime; rather, it also is about gender roles and how women and men defy convention and conform to it. At one moment in the film, Granada says to Trini: "Eso de ser estrella es un coñazo. Vamos a comer con la gente." Granada actively seeks to break down the barriers that separate her as a (Hollywood) star from the (Spanish) supporting cast and crew. Not just Granada, but all the female characters of *La reina de España* have some gumption that Franco regime propaganda would have liked Spaniards to have forgotten that all women have, and the men reveal themselves to be more constrained by the patriarchy than we might imagine. Fontiveros' wife has remarried, thinking her husband long dead. Under Franco Spain, it would have been the only option available for her survival, yet at the same time, given the large numbers of men who died in the war or were imprisoned, such an

action would have been nearly impossible. There just weren't enough men available for all women to marry.

In this way, perhaps, the experiences of stars such as Joan Crawford, Rita Hayworth and María Félix—who passed extensive periods of their adult life as single mothers (albeit thanks to divorce, not the death or imprisonment of their spouses)—rang true for their Spanish fans. These women lived lives of luxury that Spanish women could only dream of, but they still struggled with the same preoccupations of raising and disciplining children in their press discourse that all mothers do. If anything, *La reina de España* shies away from any commentary about women's lives in the domestic sphere. Perhaps it does so because all the women of the film are actresses, public women whose lives are not governed by their household tasks. Macarena Granada is divorced, single, having an affair with a young Communist crewman. The most domestic she gets is when she is secluded in her dressing room or hotel, and even then, it's clear that she hates the isolation. She's a not-domestic, not-mother (even if she is still very caring and very much a leader of the group). But she is infantilized like a Dolores del Río (*la niña*), even though after eighteen years since *La niña de tus ojos*, she is very much an adult. Infantilizing women is another way of maintaining their submissive status under the patriarchy, and in this, the film rings true both to history and to the present day.

Both *La niña de tus ojos* and *La reina de España* respond to questions of race and ethnicity. In *La niña de tus ojos*, it was the need for extras who were small dark, like southern Spaniards, that led producers to bring in Jews from concentration camps. In *La reina de España*, Cary Elwes' Gary Jones' Fernando stands out with his blond hair and excessive height, though, when dressed as Fernando, he wears a dark wig. In terms of female stars, however, Macarena Granada is able to lead a film in Spain because she is Spanish. She must modify her Andalusian accent to English, but her own race does not

prevent her from working in Spain, even if, as an Andalusian woman, she is always-already exoticized within her home country (see everything about *La niña de tus ojos*).

Aside from the Andalusian accent that Cruz adopts to play Macarena Granada (and aside from Macarena Granada's already very exoticized name, which calls forth the Virgin of the Macarena, Seville's most prominent patron, and Granada, the jewel of the South, the burial site of the Catholic Kings and the prized possession of the Reconquest), the primary way in which the two films exoticize Granada is via her costumes. In two films so meta, costuming is clearly going to play a huge role. Macarena's star character changes from an Andalusian songstress (*españolada*) to Queen (historical epic) with the concomitant costume changes. In *La niña de tus ojos*, her bright red costume, covered in embroidery and fringe, helps to accentuate the exotic nature of the film. In *La reina de España*, she now dresses in far more refined and glamorous star apparel off the shoot (except for when she pretends to be Fontiveros' daughter in order to see him at Valle de los Caídos). On set, as Queen Isabel, the period costuming helps to remove the auto-exoticisation that defines the character of Macarena Granada (the sort of familiar exoticization that we saw in the star discourse of Hayworth and Gardner in Spain, as the two dressed in *trajes de volantes* or *mantillas*).

If anything, *La reina de España* is a film about trade-offs: What did women and men sacrifice by continuing to live in Spain under Franco and what did they gain? What did they lose or win by moving away? What did Spain as a country gain by tying itself so firmly to the United States with the Pacts of Madrid and everything thereafter? The film makes clear that members of Hollywood and of the Spanish government sold a bit of their soul in order to produce films in Spain. Hollywood sacrificed governmental freedom and saw its scripts submitted to a censorial process. We learn that Berman came to Spain in part as a result of the McCarthy trials. As a Jew who had been blacklisted by Hollywood

during the McCarthy trials, he was able to work in Spain (even though it required him to write a script praising the woman who had kicked the Jews out of Spain, and even though he was never credited with writing it) because doing so ensured that he would continue to be allowed to work in film.

La reina de España is not completely convinced that Spain got the better end of its dealings with the United States. As much as the Spanish film industry benefitted by having access to foreign money, technology and directorial expertise, the US did exploit Spain to the best of their advantage (and global capitalism continues to do so). The scene that best encapsulates this is one in which the Hollywood leading man, Gary Jones (played by Carey Elwes), traps Spanish actor Julián Torralba in some stocks and rapes him, all while conversing about life in Hollywood and commenting on how tense Julián is. For those who remember Torralba's character from *La niña de tus ojos*, they will recall that he experienced a similar encounter with the German lead, Heinrich von Wermelskirch (played by Götz Otto). These scenes are played in both films as comedy, and the former certainly sparked titters among the crowd with whom I saw it. Nonetheless, rape is not funny, and I read these scenes as metaphor for how Franco sold Spain first to Germany and then to the US, and how trapped and exploited Spaniards might have felt under his rule and how they might continue to feel the same under global capitalism. In fact, I would argue that it is not even a metaphor of the time and more as a metaphor of today, with the continued economic suffering wrought by austerity and the crisis of the Great Recession. In this way, the film is deeply critical of the way that Spaniards continue to be victimized by global capitalism.

Even as the country has taken steps to reconcile the atrocities of the Franco regime with the present day, much about life under the dictatorship remains a mystery for many. Trueba's films (both of them) help to dispel that shadow, even if they are highly fictionalized accounts of the trends and processes in question. As Spaniards look back on

the regime and move on from both it and the Transition, everyone would be well-served to develop greater context, nuance and compassion for how people survived and for how popular press discourses contributed to meaning-making both during the regime and as history.

In opening Spain up to the West, Franco sacrificed censorial containment, as the regime could not keep completely silent the ways in which foreigners bucked the system, whether subtly or not. Even if the foreigners had to be condemned or shamed or otherwise called out, that publicized their actions in a way that opened them up, if not for imitation, at least for contemplation and discussion – which is the precursor to action. And the film even highlights some of the subversive actions that men and women took within their own homes, as demonstrated in the lavender marriage of Santiago Segura's Castillo and Neus Asensi's Lucía. Think of the *Gilda* scandal or even the rumors that circulated these women and the lovers and one-night stands that they had in Spain. For as much as people condemned them, such scandals got Spaniards talking and thinking about human behaviors and even about the disconnect between the size of the societal uproar over an act as small as seductively removing a glove.

The ways in which celebrities were written about under the regime matters because it demonstrates how the slippages of star discourse can undermine accepted conventions and conformity, even under a harsh censorial apparatus. Celebrity texts are also important because of the emotional valence we ascribe to their personage. The positive and negative affects associated with specific celebrity images in Spain under Franco served as a mirror to reflect back the values and gender discourse of the time, even as the foreign-ness of the stars to their Spanish audiences fostered differences and undermined the very same. In the years before the Franco regime had officially ended its autarkic practices and opened the country to international economic and political influences, the star discourses of foreign

actresses served to highlight the tensions inherent in the gender mores and national discourse propagated by the dictatorship.

Bibliography

Abella, Rafael. *La vida cotidiana en España bajo el régimen de Franco*. Editorial Argos Vergara, 1985.

Adams, Dale. "*Saludos Amigos*: Hollywood and FDR's Good Neighbor Policy." *Quarterly Review of Film and Video,* vol. 24, no. 3, 2007, pp. 289-295.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh University Press, 2004.

---. *The Promise of Happiness*. Duke University Press, 2010.

Alberoni, Francesco. "The Powerless Elite: Theory and Sociological Research on the Phenomenon of the Stars." *The Celebrity Culture Reader*, edited by P. David Marshall, Routledge, 2006, pp. 108–23.

Aldaraca, Bridget. *El ángel del hogar: Galdós and the ideology of domesticity in Spain*. University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Alemany Gal-Boguñá, José María. "Perspectivas del divorcio, en el ámbito internacional." *¿Divorcio en España?* edited by José María Díez Alegría, Editorial Nova Terra, 1972, Pp. 145-173.

Allen, Robert. "The Role of the Star in Film History [Joan Crawford]." *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, edited by Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, Oxford University Press, 1999, Pp. 547-561.

"*Alma en suplicio*." *Fotógramas: Revista seminal de cinematografía*, 22 January1949, p. 20

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Books, 1983.

Arredondo, Isabel. *Motherhood in Mexican Cinema, 1941-1991: The Transformation of Femininity on Screen*. MacFarland & Company, 2014.

Asociación Católica Padres de Familia. "Telegram to Ministro Educación Nacional." 5 October 1948. Archivo General de la Administración [Alcalá de Henares], Expediente de Censura, (03) 121 36/04322, p. 1

Asterisco. "Gilda se casa." *Proa,* León, 22 January 1949, p. 4.

Barbero, Antonio. “Cartelera madrileña: crítica de estrenos: *La otra*.” *Cámara: Revista Cinematográfica Española*, vol. VIII, no. 142, 1 December 1948, p. 8.

-----. “Cartelera madrileña: crítica de estrenos: *Alma en suplicio*.” *Cámara: Revista Cinematográfica Española*, vol. VIII, no 141, 15 November 1948, p. 7.

Barrero, Mario. “Ha vuelto Lolita del Río.” *Cámara: Revista Cinematográfica Española,* vol. VIII, no. 126, 19 February 1948, pp. 26-28.

Barreira. “Con Ava Gardner moderna Pandora.” *Primer Plano*, 23 April 1950, pp. 3, 5, 20.

Barthes, Roland. *The Neutral*. Columbia University Press, 2005.

Basinger, Jeanine. *A Woman’s View: How Hollywood Spoke to Women, 1930-1960*. Alfred A Knopf, 1993.

Beattie, Tina. “Queen of Heaven.” *Queer Theology: Rethinking the Western Body*, edited by Gerard Loughlin, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, Pp. 293-304.

Belinchón, Gregorio. “El estúpido bigote de Tono y Mihura.” *El País*, 12 November 2014, (https://elpais.com/cultura/2014/11/12/actualidad/1415811171_928625.html). Accessed 26 March 2018.

-----. “Ocho apellidos vascos ya es la película española más vista de la historia.” *El País*, 21 April 2014, (https://elpais.com/cultura/2014/04/21/actualidad/1398069287_375174.html). Accessed 26 March 2018.

-----. “La niña de tus ojos triunfa en Hollywood.” *El País*, 24 February 2016, (https://elpais.com/cultura/2016/02/24/actualidad/1456342256_647950.html). Accessed 26 March 2018.

Benet, Vicente J. And Vicente Sánchez-Biosca. “La españolada en el cine.” *Ser españoles: Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX*, edited by Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas. RBA Libros, 2013, Pp. 560-591.

Bengoa, Manolo. “Objetivo indiscreto: el idilio en marcha.” ¡*Hola! Semanario de amenidades,* 6 May 1950, p. 15.

Benjamin, Walter. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, Schocken Books, 1969, pp. 1–26.

Berlant, Lauren. "Cruel Optimism." *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 93–117.

Bishop-Sánchez, Kathryn. *Creating Carmen Miranda: Race, Camp and Transnational Stardom*. Vanderbilt University Press, 2016.

Blasco, León. "Ava Gardner, vista por un experto en estrellas." *Primer Plano*, 16 October 1949, p. 23.

Blasco Herranz, Inmaculada. "Género y nación durante el franquismo." *Imaginarios y representaciones de España durante el franquismo*, edited by Stéphane Michonneau y Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, Casa de Velázquez, 2014, Pp. 49-71.

-----. "Moda e imágenes femeninas durante el Primer Franquismo: entre la Moralidad Católica y las Nuevas Identidades de Mujer." *Artículos y ensayos: Utopía y praxis Latinoamericana*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1997, Pp. 83-93.

-----. "Mujeres y nación: ser españolas en el siglo xx." *Ser españoles: Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo xx*, edited by Javier Moreno Luzón y Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, RBA Libros, 2013, Pp. 168-206.

Botero, Rodrigo. *Ambivalent Embrace: America's Troubled Relations with Spain from the Revolutionary War to the Cold War*. Greenwood Press, 2001.

Brenan, Gerald. *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Burton Carvajal, Julianne. "Mexican Melodramas of Patriarchy: Specificity of a Transcultural Form." *Framing Latin American Cinema: Contemporary Critical Perspectives*, edited by Anne Marie Stock, University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*." Routledge, 1993.

Byrnes, Mark. "'Overruled and Worn Down': Truman Sends an Ambassador to Spain." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2, 1999, pp. 263-279.

Calvo, Sergio. "La vestimenta tradicional en Gran Canaria y Néstor Martín Fernández de la Torre." *La vestimenta tradicional en Gran Canaria y Néstor Martín Fernández de la Torre*, edited by Sergio Calvo, Centro de iniciativas y turismo de Gran Canaria, 1997, pp. 45-74.

Carr, Raymond. *Modern Spain, 1875-1980*. Oxford University Press, 1980.

Castanys. "¡Así anda el mundo con Gilda!" *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades,* 24 January 1948, p. 15.

Castro, Ruy. *Carmen: Uma biografia*. Companhia das Letras, 2005.

Charnon-Deutsch, Lou. "Concepción Arenal and the Nineteenth Century Spanish debates about women's sphere and education." *Recovering Spain's Feminist Tradition*, edited by Lisa Vollendorf, MLA, 2001, pp. 198-216.

-----. "On Desire and Domesticity in Spanish Nineteenth-Century Women's Novels." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1990, pp. 395-414.

Cinque, Toija. "Digital Shimmer: Popular Music and the Intimate Nexus between Fan and Star." *A Companion to Celebrity*, edited by P. David Marshall and Sean Redmond, John Wiley and Sons, 2015, pp. 1-18.

Cisternas, Marta Marina. "Rita no nos quiere." *Fotógramas*, vol. III, no 32, 1 March 1948, p. 10.

Connell, RW. "The Social Organization of Masculinity." *Masculinities*. 2nd ed., University of California Press, 1995, pp. 67-86.

Corber, Robert J. "Joan Crawford's Padded Shoulders: Female Masculinity in Mildred Pierce." *Camera Obscura* 62, Vol. 21, no. 2, 2006, pp. 1-31.

"Cuatro gestos de Ava Gardner en los toros." *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 27 May 1950, p. 20.

Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Duke University Press, 2003.

Cypess, Sandra Messinger. *La Malinche in Mexican Literature From History to Myth*. The University of Texas Press, 1991.

De Armenteras, Antonio. "Los últimos estrenos: Cristina, María Candelaria." ¡*Hola*! *Semanario de amenidades,* 7 September 1946, p. 13.

-----. "Coliseum: 'Gilda.'" ¡*Hola*! *Semanario de amenidades,* 10 January 1948, p. 14.

-----. "Kursaal: Aquella Noche en Río." ¡*Hola*! *Semanario de amenidades,* 3 April 1948, p. 15.

De Juanes, José. "Palacio de la Música: 'Gilda.'" *Arriba*, 24 December 1947, p. 3.

DeCerteau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life, Volume 1*. University of California Press, 2011.

DeCordova, Richard. *Picture Personalities: The Emergence of the Star System in America*. The University of Illinois Press, 2001.

de Maeztu, Ramiro. *Defensa de La Hispanidad*. Editorial Poblet, 1952.

DeGuzmán, María. *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*. University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

De Pildáin y Zapiáin, Antonio. "Prohibición episcopal de la película 'Gilda.'" *Ecclesia*, 17 January 1948, p. 14.

De Ricquer I Permanyer, Borja. "La Autarquía: Tiempo de hambre y de miseria." *La Dictadura de Franco*, edited by Josep Fontana y Ramón Villares. Crítica Marcial Pons, 2010, pp. 247-296.

Del Arco, César. "Rita Hayworth quiere aprender a bailar flamenco en Sevilla." *Primer Plano,* 10 December 1950, pp. 4-5.

Del Valle, José, and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman. *The Battle over Spanish between 1800 and 2000. Language Ideologies and Hispanic Intellectuals*. Routledge, 2002.

Del Valle, Alfonso. "Última hora de Bilbao: La bella en el Hotel Carlton." *Primer Plano,* 30 August 1953, pp. 10-11.

Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, Lorenzo. "Entre la *Hispanidad* beligerante y la comunidad hispánica de naciones (1939-1953)." *España / América Latina: un siglo de políticas culturales*, edited by Pedro Pérez Herrero and Nuria Tabanera, Asociación de Investigación y Especialización sobre Temas Iberoamericanos, 1993, pp. 91–136.

deVentós, Xavier Rubert. *The Hispanic Labyrinth: Tradition and Modernity in the Colonization of the Americas*. Translated by Mary Ann Newman, Transaction Publishers, 1991.

Díaz Lopez, M. "Connecting Spain and the Americas in the Cold War: The Transnational Careers of Jorge Negrete and Carmen Sevilla." *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas*, vol. 5, no. 1–2, July 2009, pp. 25–42.

Doane, Mary Anne. *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory Psychoanalysis*. Routledge, 1991.

"Dolores del Río." *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española*. 1 April 1948, p. 35.

"Dolores del Río, la famosa 'estrella'." *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades,* 28 June 1952, p. 11.

Dyer, Richard, and Paul McDonald. *Stars*. British Film Institute, 1998.

-----. *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*. MacMillan Education, 1986.

-----. *White: Essays on Race and Culture*. Routledge, 1997.

Eakin, Marshall. *Becoming Brazilian: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

"El cine marcha: lo que dicen nuestros corresponsales" *Fotógramas,* 15 May 1948, p. 15.

El Espectador Marquerie. "El cine desde la butaca: Dosis de ironía, de plomo y de arsénico." *La Codorniz*, 19 December 1948, p. 2.

"El sombrero atómico." *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 3 October 1946, p. 7.

"En Sevilla…En Tossa." *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 29 April 1950, p. 14.

Elordi, Carlos. *El amigo americano: de Franco a Aznar: una adhesión inquebrantable*. Temas de Hoy, 2003.

Expediente de censura: *Copacabana*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03368-09414. 10 July 2015.

Expediente de censura: *Flor silvestre*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03241-05631. 6 July 2015.

Expediente de censura: *Mildred Pierce*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03302-07506. 6 July 2015.

Expediente de censura: *Enamorada*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03322-08046. 7 July 2015.

Expediente de censura: *Gilda*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03309-07708. 3 July 2015.

Expediente de censura: *Gilda*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/04322-40121. 3 July 2016.

Expediente de censura: *Mare Nostrum*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03345-08737. 7 July 2015

Expediente de censura: *Tiburones de acero*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03387-09881. 8 July 2015.

Expediente de censura: *La condesa descalza*. Archivo General de la Administración. Alcalá de Henares, (03) 36/03537-13915. 9 July 2015.

Evans, Peter William. "Putting the Blame on *Carmen*: The Rita Hayworth Version." *Carmen: From Silent Film to MTV*, edited by Christopher Perriam and Ann Davies, Rodopi, pp. 107-120.

Fallaci, Oriana. "Ava Gardner y los hombres." *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 30 March 1957, pp. 16-17.

Falquina, Ángel. "Queremos conocer a Carmen Miranda." *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española*, 15 February 1948, p. 19.

Fein, Seth. "Myths of Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism in Golden Ages Mexican Cinema." *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, edited by Gilbert Joseph et al., Duke University Press, 2001, pp. 159–98.

Fejes, Fred. *Imperialism, media and the good neighbor: New Deal foreign policy and United States shortwave broadcasting to Latin America*. Ablex Publication Corp., 1986.

Félix, María. *María Félix: Todas mis guerras.* Editorial Clío, 1993.

Fletcher, Alicia. "Dangerous Woman: *Gilda* and the Hollywood Burlesque." *Cinema Scope,* no. 68, 2016, pp. 39-41.

The Fugitive. Directed by John Ford, performances by Henry Fonda, Dolores del Río, and Pedro Armendáriz, RKO/Argosy Pictures, 1947.

Franco, Jean. *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico*. Columbia University Press, 1989.

Fusi, Juan Pablo. *España: La Evolución de La Identidad Nacional*. Temas de Hoy, 2000.

Gallardo, B. "Cartelera madrileña: crítica de estrenos: 'Copacabana.'" *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española*, 15 February 1950, p. 9.

García, Pío. "Moviola: María Félix dice 'Hasta luego'." *Primer Plano,* 6 March 1949, pp. 20-21.

-----. "Moviola: Ava Gardner y James Mason vienen a España." *Primer Plano*, 4 March 1950, p. 20.

García de la Puerta. "Un bello rostro, una artista, un saludo y una dedicatoria." *Pueblo*, 27 April 1948, pp. 1, 4-5.

-----. "La verdad en la ficción: el más bello sueño de María Félix, la mujer que nació para reina." *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española*, 15 August 1950, p. 29.

García López, Olimpa. "El Estado Novo al Nuevo Estado: música, prensa y propaganda en las relaciones entre Portugal y Sevilla durante la Guerra Civil española." *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana*, vol. 29, 2016, pp. 111-135.

Gardner, Ava. *Ava: My Story*. Thorndike Press, 1991.

Garner, Steve. *Whiteness: An Introduction*. Routledge, 2007.

Gil-Montero, Martha. *Brazilian Bombshell: The Biography of Carmen Miranda*. Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1989.

Gilda. Directed by Charles Vidor, performances by Rita Hayworth, Glenn Ford, Columbia Pictures, 1946.

"Gilda nos habla de Rita Hayworth." *Imágenes: revista de la cinematografía mundial*, February 1948, pp. 10-11.

Gill, Brendan. "Cedric Gibbons and Dolores Del Rio: The Art Director and the Star of Flying Down to Rio in Santa Monica." *Architectural Digest: Academy Awards Collector's Edition*, April 1992, pp. 127-133, 254.

Giménez Caballero, Ernesto. *Amor a Andalucía*. Editorial Nacional, 1944.

-----. *Amor a Argentina o el genio de España en América*. Editorial Nacional, 1948.

-----. *Amor a Cataluña*. Ruta, 1942.

-----. *Amor a Galicia, progenitora de Cervantes*. Editorial Nacional, 1947.

-----. *Amor a Méjico (a través de su cine)*. Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanas, 1948.

-----. *España nuestra: el libro de las juventudes españolas*. Vicesecretaria de Educación Popular, 1943.

-----. *Norteamérica sonríe a España*. Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 1952.

Gómez Bajuelo, Gil. "El abuelo de una actriz de fama universal vive en la calle Jaira, de Sevilla." *Semana*, 3 August 1948, pp. 28-29.

Gómez Caviró, A. Letter to Stanton Griffis. 22 January 1952. Box 5, Folder 5, Stanton Griffis Papers, Truman Library, Independence, MO. 5 January 2015.

Gómez Tello. "María Félix, entrevistada en automóvil." *Primer Plano,* 23 July 1950, pp. 6-7.

Goode, Joshua. *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930*. Louisiana State University Press, 2009.

Graham, Helen. "Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s." *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi. Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 182-195.

Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth. "An Inventory of Shimmers." *The Affect Theory Reader*, Duke University Press, 2010.

Grossman, Julie. *Rethinking the Femme Fatale in Film Noir: Ready for Her Close-Up*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Grugel, Jean, and Tim Rees. *Franco's Spain*. Arnold, 1997.

Gubern, Román. *Historia del cine español*. Cátedra, 2009.

Gubern, Román and Doménec Font. *Un cine para el cadalso: 40 años de censura cinematográfica en España*. Editorial Euros, 1975.

"Hablemos de Gilda." *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 17 January 1948, p. 15.

Hall, Linda B. *Dolores del Río: Beauty in Light and Shade*. Stanford University Press, 2013.

-----. “Images of Women in Power.” *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 77 no. 1, 2008, pp. 1-18.

Hardt, Michael. “Foreword: What Affects Are Good For’.” *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, edited by Patricia Ticineto Clough, Duke University Press, 2007, pp. ix–xiii.

Harney, Michael. *Race, Caste and Indigeneity in Medieval Spanish Travel Literature*. Palgrave McMillan, 2015.

Haskell, Molly. *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies*. The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Herlinghaus, Hermann. “Imaginación melodramática, narración anacrónica e identidades diferentes: aporías y nuevas expectativas del debate cultural latinoamericano.” *Heterotropías: narrativas de identidad y alteridad latinoamericana*, edited by Carlos A. Jáuregui and Juan Pablo Dabove, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, University of Pittsburgh, 2003, pp. 461-476.

Herrero-Olaizola, Alejandro. *The Censorship Files: Latin American Writers and Franco’s Spain*. SUNY Press, 2012.

Hershfield, Joanne. *Mexican Cinema/Mexican Woman, 1940-1950*. The University of Arizona Press, 1996.

-----. *The Invention of Dolores del Río*. The University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Higgs Boson Is like ... a Justin Bieber Fan? (http://lightyears.blogs.cnn.com/2012/07/05/higgs-boson-is-like-a-justin-bieber-fan/). CNN, 5 July 2012, Accessed 26 Oct. 2017.

Hobsbawm, Eric. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge UP, 1983, pp. 1-14.

Hobson, Janell. *Body as Evidence: Mediating Race, Globalizing Gender*. SUNY Press, 2012.

Holguín, Sandie. “Música y nacionalismo.” *Ser españoles: Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX*, edited by Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, RBA Libros, 2013, pp. 497-529.

Hombres Acción Católica. Telegram to Ministro Educación Nacional. 5 October 1948. Archivo General de la Administración [Alcalá de Henares], Expediente de Censura (03) 121 36/03309, p. 1. 3 July 2016.

Hooper, J. Gerald. "Touring Spain via ATESA." Instituto Nacional de la Industria, Filmoteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain. 30 June 2015.

Hudson-Richards, Julia. "'Women Want to Work': Shifting Ideologies of Women's Work in Franco's Spain, 1939-1962." *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2015, pp. 87-109.

Inglis, Fred. *A Short History of Celebrity*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

Isfahani-Hammond, Alexandra. *White Negritude: Race, Writing and Brazilian Cultural Identity*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

Isherwood, Lisa. "Our Lady of Perpetual Succour: Mother of Phallic Fetishes? [Queering the Queen of Heaven]." *Post-Christian Feminisms: A Critical Approach*, edited by Kathleen McPhillips and Lisa Isherwood, Ashgate Publishing, 2008, pp. 117-128.

Jancovich, Mark. "'Vicious womanhood': genre, the femme fatale and postwar America." *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2011, pp. 100-114.

"Joan Crawfor (sic)." *Primer Plano,* 26 February 1950, p. 1.

Junta Diocesana Acción Católica. Telegram to Ministro Educación Nacional. 5 October 1948. Archivo General de la Administración [Alcalá de Henares], Expediente de Censura, (03) 121 36/04322, p. 1. 3 July 2016.

Kobal, John. *Rita Hayworth: the time, the place and the woman*. Norton, 1978.

Kosofsky Sedgwick, Eve. *Tendencies*. Duke University Press, 1993.

"La Dolores del Río de ayer y la de hoy." *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española*, 15 January 1948, pp. 10-11.

"La famosa actriz cinematográfica Rita Hayworth, en Sevilla" *ABC Sevilla*, 21 August 1948, p. 12.

La niña de tus ojos. Directed by Fernando Trueba, performances by Penélope Cruz, Antonio Resines, Jorge Sanz and Santiago Segura, CARTEL/Fernando Trueba Producciones Cinematográficas/Lolafilms, 1998.

"La nueva reina de Hollywood." ¡*Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 1 April 1950, p. 12.

La reina de España. Dir. Fernando Trueba, performances by Penélope Cruz, Antonio Resines, Jorge Sanz, Santiago Segura, Mandy Patinkin, and Carey Elwes, Atresmedia Cine, 2016.

Labanyi, Jo. "Censorship or the Fear of Mass Culture." *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Jo Labanyi and Helen Graham, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 207-214.

-----. "Cinema and the Mediation of Everyday Life in 1940s and 1950s Spain." *New Readings*, vol. 8, no. 1, Dec. 2011, pp. 1–24.

-----. "Re: Question about audience reception of Joan Crawford in Spain." Received by Diana Norton, 29 April 2016.

-----. "Imperial desire and Masculine Crisis in Early Francoist Film Representations of the Loss of the Philippines and Cuba." *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies on Film in Spanish*, vol. 2 no. 2, 2010, pp. 1-19.

Leaming, Barbara. *If This was Happiness: A Biography of Rita Hayworth*. Penguin, 1989.

León Aguinaga, Pablo. "State–Corporate Relations, Film Trade and The Cold War: The Failure of MPEAA's Strategy in Spain, 1945–1960." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 29, no. 4, Nov. 2009, pp. 483–504.

-----. *Sospechosos habituales: el cine norteamericano, los Estados Unidos, y la España franquista, 1939-1960*. Editorial CSIC, 2003.

Litton Fox, Greer. "'Nice Girl': Social Control of Women through a Value Construct. *Signs*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1977, pp. 805-817.

Llopis, Bienvenido. *La censura franquista en el cartel de cine*. Notorious Ediciones, 2013.

López, Ana M. "From Hollywood and Back: Dolores Del Río, a Trans(National) Star." *Latin American Icons: Fame Across Borders*, edited by Dianna C. Niebylski and Patrick O'Connor. Vanderbilt University Press, 2014, pp. 97-115.

-----. "Are all Latins from Manhattan? Hollywood, Ethnography and Cultural Colonialism." *Mediating Two Worlds: Cinematic Encounters in the Americas*, edited by John King, Ana M. López and Manuel Alvarado, BFI Publishing, 1993.

Losada, Juan. "Dolores del Río quiere trabajar en España." *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española,* 29 January 1948, p. 16.

Loureiro, Ángel. "Spanish Nationalism and the Ghost of Empire." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2003, pp. 65–76.

Lund, Joshua. *The Impure Imagination: Toward a Critical Hybridity in Latin American Writing*. The University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Malka, Jeffrey S. *Sephardic Genealogy: Discovering Your Sephardic Ancestors and their World*. Avotaynu, Inc., 2002.

Mandrell, James. "Carmen Miranda: Betwixt and Between, or, Neither Here nor There." *Latin American Literary Review*, vol. 29, no. 57, 2001, pp. 26-39.

María Candelaria (Xochimilco). Directed by Emilio Fernández, performances by Dolores del Río, Pedro Armendáriz, Films Mundiales, 1944.

Marsh, Steven. "The Haptic in Hindsight: Neighbourhood Cinema-Going in Post-War Spain." *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2005, pp. 109–15.

Marshall, P. David. *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture*. University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Martel, F. F. "GILDA, en el Palacio de la Música." *Marca: semanario gráfico de deportes*, 26 December 1947, p. 6.

Martin Gaite, Carmen. *Usos amorosos de la posguerra española*. Círculo de Lectores, 1987.

Marvin, Garry. *Bullfight*. University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Massumi, Brian. "The Autonomy of Affect." *Cultural Critique*, no. 31, 1995, pp. 83–109.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. Routledge, 1995.

McLean, Adrienne. *Being Rita Hayworth: Labor, Identity and Hollywood Stardom*. Rutgers University Press, 2004.

Meeuf, Russel and Raphael Raphael. "Introduction." *Transnational Stardom: International Celebrity in Film and Popular Culture*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2013, pp. 1-16.

Mildred Pierce. Directed by Michael Curtiz, performances by Joan Crawford, Jack Carson, Ann Blythe, and Zachary Scott, Warner Bros, 1945.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Blood Sport: A Social History of Spanish Bullfighting*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

Molina Martínez, Miguel. "La leyenda negra revisitada: la polémica continúa." *Revista Hispanoamericana*, no. 2, 2012, pp. 1–17.

Monterde, José Enrique. "El cine de la autarquía (1939-1950)." *Historia del cine español*, edited by Jenaro Talens, Cátedra, 1995, pp. 181-238.

Mora, Carl. *Mexican Cinema: Reflections of a Society*. University of California Press, 1982.

Morales, Sofía. "Se rueda en exteriores: Ana Mariscal tenía un guion, pero se le adelantó Joan Crawford." *Primer Plano*, 28 May 1950, p. 23.

-----. "María Félix ya está aquí." *Primer Plano*, 8 November 1953, pp. 6-7.

-----. "Se rueda en exteriores: Ava Gardner, primer premio de bajar escaleras" *Primer Plano,* 23 April 1950, p. 23.

-----. "Pues, señores: Ava Gardner pasó 9 días en Madrid." *Primer Plano,* 6 September 1953, pp. 20-21.

-----. "Ava, otra vez en España: de los toros de Bilbao a los de Alcalá de Henares." *Primer Plano,* 30 August 1953, pp. 9-10.

Morcillo, Aurora. "Shaping True Catholic Womanhood: Francoist Educational Discourse on Women." *Constructing Spanish womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, edited by Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, State University of New York Press, 1999, pp. 51-70.

-----. *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*. Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.

Moreiras, Alberto. "Razón Imperial Española." *Lateral*, no. 84, 2001, pp. 40–41.

---. "Spanish Nation Formation: An Introduction." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2001, pp. 5–11.

Morella, Joe and Edward Epstein. *Rita: The Life of Rita Hayworth*. Delacorte Press, 1983.

"Mosaico: María Félix." *Lecturas*, April 1949, p. 36.

"Mosaico: de nuestro archive." *Lecturas*, May 1949, p. 36.

Moseley, Rachel. *Fashioning Film Stars: Dress Culture and Identity*. BFI Publishing, 2005.

Mraz, John. *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity*. Duke University Press, 2009.

Nash, Mary. *Mujer familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936)*. Anthropos, 1983.

-----. "Pronatalism and motherhood in Franco's Spain". *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*, edited by Giselda Bock and Pat Thane, Routledge, 1991, pp. 160-177.

Nelson, Joyce. "Mildred Pierce Reconsidered." *Movies and Methods Volume II: An Anthology*, edited by Bill Nichols, The University of California Press, 1985. Pp. 450-458.

Nericcio, William Anthony and Guillermo Nericcio García. "When Electrolysis Proxies for the Existential: A Somewhat Sordid Meditation on What Might Occur if Frantz Fanon, Rosario Castellanos, Jacques Derrida, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Sandra Cisneros Asked Rita Hayworth Her Name." *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State*, edited by Arturo J. Aldama, Indiana University Press, 2002, pp. 263-286.

"Noticiario Extranjero." ¡*Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 28 April 1945, P. 15.

Núñez Florencio, Rafael. "Los toros, fiesta nacional." *Ser españoles: Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX,* edited by Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, RBA, 2013, pp. 433–463.

Núñez Seixas, Xosé M. "La región y lo local en el primer franquismo." In *Imaginarios y representaciones de España durante el franquismo*, edited by Stéphane Michonneau and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, Casa de Velázquez, 2014, pp. 127-154.

Ordóñez, Marcos. *Beberse la vida: Ava Gardner en España*. Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2004.

Ortiz, Carmen. "The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime." *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 112, no. 446, 1999, pp. 479-496.

Osborne, Raquel. "Introducción." *Mujeres bajo sospecha: memoria y sexualidad 1930-1980*, edited by Raquel Osborne, Editorial Fundamentos, 2012, pp. 9-32.

Pascual, Víctor. "Estrenos en Barcelona." *Imágenes*, February 1948, pp. 26-27.

Pastrana, Eva. "Foto de la fachada del Palacio de la música donde se estrenó Gilda en Madrid con el autógrafo a Enrique Herreros. Por ABC." *Madrilánea.com*. 26 January 2012, madrilanea.com/2012/01/27/vida-muerte-celuloide/gilda-jpg-de-redaccion-abc/, Accessed 1 May 2018.

Payne, Stanley G. *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview*. The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.

Peñasco, Rosa. *La copla sabe de leyes: El matrimonio, la separación, el divorcio y los hijos en nuestras canciones*. Alianza, 2000.

Pike, Fredrick B. *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: sixty years of generally gentle chaos*. University of Texas Press, 1995.

Pink, Sarah. *Women and Bullfighting: Gender, Sex and the Consumption of Tradition*. Berg, 1997.

Poniatowska, Elena. "Dolores Del Río." *Todo México* Vol. 2, Editorial Diana, 1993.

"Por el ojo de la cerradura." *Fotógramas*, 1 January 1948, p. 23.

"Por el ojo de la cerradura." *Fotógramas*, 1 March 1948, p. 15.

Preston, Paul. *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*. WW Norton & Company, 2012.

"Pride." *Oxford English Dictionary*, (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/151185?rskey=589VK9&result=1#eid). Accessed 1 May 2018.

Quesada, Dolores. *Rita Hayworth: la mujer y la estrella*. Editorial Mateu, 1959.

R. de León, A. "De semana en 'Semana': comentarios sobre cine." *Semana,* 7 June 1949, p. 34.

Ramírez, L. "Estas son las que prefiere Robert Taylor." *Primer Plano,* 29 January 1950, p. 14.

Ramirez Berg, Charles. *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, Resistance*. The University of Texas Press, 2002.

-----. *The Classical Mexican Cinema: The Poetics of the Exceptional Golden Age Films*. The University of Texas Press, 2015.

Ramón, David. *Dolores del Río*, 3 volumes, Editorial Clío, 1997.

Raza. Directed by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, with script by Francisco Franco/Jaime de Andrade, performances by Alfredo Mayo, Ana Mariscal, and José Nieto, Cancillería del Consejo de la Hispanidad, 1942.

Redacción. "La Macarena en el cajón…78 años después." *ABC Sevilla, Pasión en Sevilla,* (http://sevilla.abc.es/pasionensevilla/actualidad/noticias/la-macarena-en-el-cajon-78-anos-despues.html). 12 February 2014. Accessed 22 February 2017.

Resina, Joan Ramon. "Cold War Hispanism and the New Deal of Cultural Studies." *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity*, edited by Brad Epps and Luis Fernández Cifuentes, Bucknell University Press, 2005, pp. 70-108.

---. "Hispanism and Its Discontents." *Siglo XX/20th Century*, vol. 14, no. 1–2, 1996, pp. 85–135.

Reyes, Aurelio de los. *Medio siglo de cine mexicano (1896-1947)*. Editorial Trillas, 1987.

Richards, Michael. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

---. "Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years." *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, Berg Publishers, 1996, pp. 149–67.

"Rita Hayworth, excelente artista de la Fox, en cuyo rostro se encarna la belleza y la gracia de su ascendencia española." ¡*Hola! Semanario de amenidades,* 9 February 1946, p. 1.

"Rita Hayworth ha pasado por Madrid." *ABC Sevilla*, 20 August 1948, p. 8.

"Rita Hayworth, en Portugal." *ABC Sevilla*, 24 August 1948, p. 5.

Rixon, Paul. "The Role of the British Popular Press in Re-Imagining American Television Celebrities for the British Audience: The 1950s to the 1960s." *Celebrity Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, Mar. 2011, pp. 44–55.

Roach, Joseph. *It*. University of Michigan Press, 2007.

Robbins, Jill. "Public Women: The Borders of Domesticity in Franco's Spain." *Explicación de Textos Literarios*, vol. 28, no. 1-2, 1999, pp. 90-97.

Roberts, Shari. "'The Lady in the Tutti-Frutti Hat': Carmen Miranda, a Spectacle of Ethnicity." *Cinema Journal*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1993, pp. 3-23.

Robles Picquer, Carlos, Miguel Sánchez-Mazas Ferlosio, and Tomás Lozano Escribano. Letter to Ilmo. Sr. D. Luis Ortiz Muñoz, Subsecretaria de Educación Popular. 25 December 1947. Archivo General de la Administración [Alcalá de Henares], Expediente de Censura, (03) 121 36/04322, pp. 1-4. 7 July 2015.

Rodríguez Fuentes, Carmen. *Las actrices en el cine español de los cuarenta*. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001.

Rojinsky, David. *Companion to Empire: A Genealogy of the Written Word in Spain and New Spain, C.550-1550.* Editions Rodopi, 2010.

Rosendorf, Neal M. *Franco Sells Spain to America: Hollywood, Tourism and Public Relations as Postwar Spanish Soft Power.* Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.

Rosón, María. *Género, memoria y cultura visual en el primer franquismo (materiales cotidianos, más allá del arte)*. Cátedra, 2016.

Rueda Grisolia, Vick. "Su majestad Joan Crawford, primera dama del cine." *Primer Plano*, 20 November 1949, pp. 12-13.

Rueda, Vic. "Les voy a contar todo lo que sé sobre Joan Crawford." *Primer Plano,* 23 April 1950, pp. 10-11.

-----. “Ava Gardner regresa de España y éstas son sus impresiones.” *Primer Plano,* 20 August 1950, p. 11.

Sánchez, Pura. “Individuas de dudosa moral.” *Mujeres bajo sospecha: memoria y sexualidad 1930-1980*, edited by Raquel Osborne. Editorial Fundamentos, 2012, pp. 105-121.

Sánchez Prado, Ignacio. “The Golden Age Otherwise: Mexican Cinema and the Mediations of Capitalist Modernity in the 1940s and 1950s.” *Cosmopolitan Film Cultures in Latin America, 1896-1960*, edited by Rielle Navitski and Nicolas Poppe, Indiana University Press, 2017, pp. 241-266.

Santos Olivera, Balbino. “La película 'Gilda' no puede ser proyectada y queda prohibida para todo católico.” *Ideal*, 20 November 1949, p. 4.

Seigel, Micol. *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*. Duke University Press, 2009.

“Semblanza a gotas de Ava Gardner.” *¡Hola! Semanario de amenidades*, 22 April 1950, p. 13.

Señora Ama. Directed by Julio Bracho, performances by Dolores del Río, José Suarez and María Luz Galicia, Diana Films/Union Films, 1955.

Server, Lee. *Ava Gardner: Love is Nothing*. St. Martin’s Press, 2006.

Shaw, Lisa. “The Celebritisation of Carmen Miranda in New York, 1939-1941.” *Celebrity Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2010, pp. 286–302.

-----. *Carmen Miranda*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.

Shubert, Adrian. *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Simpson, Catherine. “‘Tenemos Un Defecto’: Europe and the Repressed Macho Ibérico in Vicente Escrivá’s *Lo Verde Empieza En Los Pirineos*.” *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2009, pp. 111–23.

Sinova, Justino. *La censura de Prensa durante el franquismo*. Espasa-Calpe, 1989.

Spoto, Donald. *Possessed: The Life of Joan Crawford*. William Morrow, 2010.

Stehrenberger, Cécile. "Folklore, Nation and Gender in a Colonial Encounter: *Coros y Danzas* of the *Sección Femenina* of the *Falange* in Equatorial Guinea." *Afro-Hispanic Review*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2009, pp. 231-244.

-----. "Los Coros y Danzas de La Sección Femenina en Guinea Ecuatorial. Un caso de studio del vínculo entre política de género y colonialismo." *Mujeres bajo sospecha: Memoria y sexualidad 1930-1980*, edited by Raquel Osborne. Editorial Fundamentos, 2012, pp. 311-327.

Stewart, Kathleen. *Ordinary Affects*. Duke University Press, 2007.

Studlar, Gaylyn. "The Changing Face of Celebrity and the Emergence of Motion Picture Stardom." *A Companion to Celebrity*, edited by P. David Marshall and Sean Redmond, John Wiley and Sons, 2016, pp. 58–77.

"Su hogar dulce de Carolina dulce hogar para Ava Gardner." *Primer Plano,* 26 June 1949, p. 3.

Taibo I, Paco Ignacio. *Dolores del Río, mujer en el volcán*. Planeta, 1999.

-----. *María Félix: 47 pasos por el cine*. Colección Genio y Figura, 1985.

Terada, Rei. *Feeling in Theory: Emotion after the "Death of the Subject."* Harvard University Press, 2003.

Tello, Gómez. "La crítica es libre: El gran pecador." *Primer Plano,* 2 January 1950, p. 23.

The Barefoot Contessa. Directed by Joseph Mankiewicz, performances by Ava Gardner, Humphrey Bogart, Edmond O'Brien, Rossano Brazzi, United Artists, 1954.

Thrift, Nigel. "Understanding the Material Practices of Glamour." *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 289–308.

"Tierna despedida." *Fotógramas*, 15 August 1948, p. 7.

Tocildo, Alfredo. "Así es María Félix…" *Cámara: revista cinematográfica española*, 23 June 1950, pp. 12-14.

Torres, Rafael. *La vida amorosa en tiempos de Franco*. Temas de Hoy, 1996.

Treglown, Jeremy. *Franco's Crypt: Spanish Culture and Memory Since 1946*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013.

Triana Toribio, Núria. *Spanish National Cinema*. Routledge, 2003.

Tuñón, Julia. "Cine e hispanismo." *Cine, nación y nacionalidades*, edited by Nancy Berthier and Jean-Claude Seguin, Casa de Velázquez, 2007, pp. 165-184.

-----. "Relaciones de celuloide: el primer Certamen Cinematográfico hispanoamericano. Madrid, 1948." *México y España en el primer franquismo, 1939-1950: Rupturas formales, relaciones oficiosas*, edited by Clara E. Lida, El Colegio de México, 2001, pp. 121-161.

Valdivia, Angharad. "Is Penelope to J. Lo as Culture is to Nature?: Eurocentric Approaches to 'Latin' Beauties." *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture*, edited by Myra Mendible, The University of Texas Press, 2007, pp. 129-148.

Valencia, Antonio. "A los extranjeros les gustan los toros, y ahora, además, lo dicen." *Fotos,* 10 March 1951, p. 17.

Vasconcelos, José. *La raza cósmica: misión de la raza iberoamericano. Notas de viajes a la América del sur.* Agencia mundial de librería, 1925, Madrid, (http://www.filosofia.org/aut/001/razacos.htm). Accessed 1 May 2018.

Vaughan, Mary Kay. "Transnational Processes and the Rise and Fall of the Mexican Cultural State: Notes from the Past," *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940*, edited by Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov, Duke University Press, 2001, pp. 471-487.

Vernon, Kathleen. "Reading Hollywood in/and Spanish Cinema: From Trade Wars to Transculturation." *Refiguring Spain: Cinema, Media, Representation*, edited by Marsha Kinder, Duke University Press, 1997, pp. 35-64.

Williams, Emrys. *Bodyguard: My Twenty Years as Aly Khan's Shadow*. Golden Pegasus Books, Ltd, 1960.

Woods Peiró, Eva. *White Gypsies: Race and Stardom in Spanish Musicals*. University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

-----. "Identification and disconnect through popular melodrama." *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas,* vol. 2, no. 2, 2005, pp. 125-135.

Wurst, Karin. “Fashioning a Nation: Fashion and National Costume in Bertuch’s ‘Journal des Luxus und der Moden.” *German Studies Review*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2005, pp. 367-386.